THE ASCENT OF CYRUS The Younger:

AND THE

Retreat of the Ten Thouſand *GREEKS.*

Tranſlated from *XENOPHON*, by
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THE

PREFACE.

TRANSLATIONS from dead Languages being principally intended for thoſe Perſons who have not Learning, or Time, to read the Original; the Duty of a Tranſlator ſeems to conſiſt in rendering his Author as intelligible and familiar as poſſible to ſuch Readers. In moſt of our antient hiſtorical Regiſters References to other Hiſtories, and Hints of former Tranſactions occur; and theſe perplex and diſtaſte a curious Reader unacquainted with the Authors, who have treated thoſe Matters at large. All ſuch ſummary Relations an Interpreter ought to explain by proper Notes, or ſome other Mean equally advantageous. In the following Aſcent numerous Paſſages will occur, whereof no Explanation is given by proper Notes, nor Reference made to Authors that have tranſ-

mitted plenary Relations of them. Theſe Paſſages, for the moſt Part, relating to the Affairs of *Perſia*, or *Greece*, I cannot better unravel, than by giving a ſuccinct Account of the *Perſian* Empire, and the chief Communities of *Greece*; and that the Reader may have a fairer View of the Policy and Intereſts of thoſe Republicks, and the Riſe and Declenſion of the *Perſian* Empire, I ſhall give a ſhort Sketch of the grand Monarchies that preceded the *Perſian*, and out of whoſe Ruins this latter aroſe.

EGYPT, the Queen of Nations, and Parent of the Gods, by her Temperance and Severity of Diſcipline, was formed for Conqueſts; and by the Wiſdom of her Politicks, fitted for Command. The Profeſſion of Arms was eſteemed honourable; and the military Art conveyed from Father to Son, rendered the Soldier no leſs expert in the Exerciſe of Arms, than his Education active and vigorous. In all Expeditions, her Kings and Generals put themſelves under the Guidance and Protection of her Gods, whoſe Images and Statues they carried into the Field. To them their Piety imputed the Victories gained; and by their Favour the Battles were declared won. Hence Chronologers, miſled by the Names of the Gods, which were likewiſe the favourite Names of her Kings, have antedated her Conqueſts,

Conqueſts, and carried her Antiquities to too great an Height.

EGYPT, being united under one King, and *Lybia* brought into Subjection, *Shiſhak*, the firſt of Conquerors, went forth to ſubdue Kingdoms. The Love of Glory, and not an unwarrantable Thirſt of Empire, excited him to this Enterprize; and his Ambition tended rather to civilize, than ſubject Nations. *Africa*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Paleſtine*, and a great Part of *Aſia*, accepted the gentle Yoke; and after nine Years Abſence, he returned into his Kingdom, with the pompous Titles of King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. But this mighty Warriour, who had vanquiſhed ſo many Kingdoms and Nations, could not quel the Envy of his Brother; who imagining every Increaſe of Glory to *Seſoſtris* a Diminution of his own Fame, treacherouſly aſſaſſinated him. Soon after the Death of *Seſoſtris*, *Egypt* received a Native of *Ethiopia* for her King. This Monarch, emulating the warlike Actions of his Predeceſſor, marched with a Million of Men to ſubdue the whole *Eaſt*: But *Aſa*, King of *Judah*, putting greater Affiance in the Lord JEHOVAH, than the Strength of his Army, gave him a ſignal Defeat; and not only reduced his Empire within the River of *Egypt*, but likewiſe diſmembered the Kingdom of *Tanis* from him, ſet a King over it, and ſupported

ported him with an Army of two hundred thouſand Jews and *Phœnicians*. The *Græcians*, unable to bear the moſt gentle Servitude, took Advantage of the Troubles of *Egypt*, threw off the Yoke, and ſent Ambaſſadors into ſeveral Parts of *Aſia*, to invite the maritime Nations to join with them againſt the common Oppreſſor. This Embaſſage is tranſmitted down to us by the *Græcian* Writers, under the Name of the *Argonautic* Expedition. Liberty was the Golden Fleece, in Search of which their Heroes undertook that long and perilous Voyage. Neither the Infancy of Navigation, nor Reports of Promontories meeting each other with ſudden and violent Shocks, nor certain and brave Reſiſtance from the Troops and Guards of their Enemy, could deter theſe illuſtrious Princes from aſſerting the common Rights of Mankind. This Expedition makes a glorious Æra; and from it we date the Liberty of *Greece*, and the Truth of Hiſtory. Before it, we meet with Ignorance or Fables, Servitude or Licentiouſneſs. *Amenophis*, ſucceeding his Father *Zerah*, expelled the *Jews* out of the lower *Egypt*, ſubdued *Aſia* as far as the *Perſian* Gulph, and kept his Court at *Suſa*, where he ſet up the celebrated *Memnonia*. Victory produced Luxury; and Power Pride. Hence ſprung Effeminacy, Idleneſs, Diſcord, Faction, and all the Vices incident

to

to unbridled Luſt and Vanity. And the *Egyptians* quite degenerated from their priſtine Virtues, having impaired their Conſtitutions by Gluttony and Intemperance, at laſt groaned beneath the Tyranny of twelve cotemporary Oppreſſors: And here, it may not be improper to make one Obſervation, the Truth whereof will, with the greateſt Evidence, appear in the Riſe and Fall of the ſubſequent Empires, "That the Conquerors became always Maſters of the "Luxury, as well as of the Country of the "Conquered; and that their Empires were "never ſubverted, until the Conſtitutions "of the People were impaired and enfeebled by Intemperance and Lazineſs; and "they were ripe for Deſtruction by a total "Defection from Virtue."

Not long after the Declenſion of the *Egyptian* Empire, a Nation ſcarce known by her Neighbours, raiſed her Head, and attained a formidable Power. The Kingdoms of *Siphara*, *Arpad*, *Hamath*, *Media*, *Carchemiſh*, and ſeveral other Principalities, fell beneath her all-ſubduing Arm. *Syria* received new Inhabitants, and *Damaſcus* was removed to *Kir*. *Ninyas* dying, divided the Empire between his Sons. The Elder reigns at *Nineveh*, the Younger at *Babylon*. The Dominions of *Nineveh* are enlarged by *Salmanaſſar*; *Paleſtine* feels the Weight of his Power, *Samaria* is taken, the

ten

ten Tribes are carried away Captives, and placed in *Chaboras*, *Gauzania*, and the Cities of the *Medes*. *Sennacherib* invades *Judæa*, challenges the God of the *Hebrews* to deliver *Jeruſalem* out of his Hand, and receives a terrible Overthrow from the immediate Hand of the ALMIGHTY, one hundred and eighty five thouſand of his Men being ſlain by a Blaſt in one Night. The *Medes*, taking Advantage of this Defeat, and the Confuſion of the *Aſſyrian* Affairs, throw off the Yoke, and chuſe *Deioces* for their King, who fixeth his Seat at *Ecbatane*. *Sennacherib* being ſlain by two of his Sons, *Eſarhaddon* ſucceeded to the Crown. In the beginning of his Reign, he conquered the *Babylonians*, ſubdued *Judæa*, and carried *Manaſſeh* to *Babylon*, where he had removed his Court. After this, he laid *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* waſte for three Years, and captivated thoſe Nations. The Virtues and great Abilities of this Monarch raiſed the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the higheſt Pitch; but the Vices and Weakneſſes of his Succeſſors reduced it to the loweſt Ebb; for the Virtues and Vices of a People are from their Governours, and in the Body politick, the Diſeaſes of the Members proceed from the Diſorders of the Head.

THE Minds and Diſpoſitions of the *Aſſyrians* being debauched, and their Manners depraved, the Weſtern Nations revolted, and

and the Præfect of *Babylon* aſſumed the Title of King independent of the *Aſſyrians*, and entered into a Confederacy with the *Medes*, who had aſſerted their Liberty ſome Years before. *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, Sons of the *Babylonian* and *Median* Kings, united by Intereſt and Intermarriages in each others Family, conſpire the Overthrow of the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, weakened and diſtreſſed by a late unſucceſsful War with the King of *Egypt*, who had marched as far as the *Euphrates*, and taken *Carchemiſh*. In this War, the King of *Aſſyria* is ſlain, *Nineveh* taken and deſtroyed, and a Partition of the conquered Provinces being made, the Foundation of thoſe collateral Empires is laid. *Armenia* is confirmed, and *Perſia* added to the *Medes*; the reſt of the Dominions are granted to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who ſeems to have been the Leader of the Armies, and Author of all their Victories. After this Diviſion, *Nebuchadnezzar* ſubdues the Weſtern Nations, and carries the *Jews*, with their King, Captive to *Babylon*. At laſt, forgetting the LORD who had given him Victory, he is baniſhed from the Society of Men, and eats Graſs like the Beaſts of the Field. At the Expiration of ſeven Years foretold by *Daniel*, humbling himſelf before the Lord JEHOVAH, he is reſtored to the Regal Power. During his Expulſion, and the Regency of *Nitocris*, the

Medes

Medes extended their Empire, and ſubdued many potent Cities. Theſe Succeſſes of the *Medes* created a Jealouſy in the *Babylonian*. His Glory was eclipſed, and his Lawrels faded by the Victories of his Neighbours. Their Power was the ſole Obſtacle to his ambitious Views, and Deſign of an univerſal Empire; and he imagined, that if their Kingdom was ſubdued, his Dominions would be of an Extent equal to his vain Deſires. To effect this, he ſummons all his Tributaries and Allies to attend him. "He re-"preſents to them, the Neceſſity of hum-"bling the Enemy, and maintaining the "Ballance of Power againſt them: That, "if their Power was not broken, they muſt "all fall a Sacrifice ſeverally to their "Force." Theſe plauſible Arguments, ſeconded with powerful Bribes, drew *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, and all the Weſtern Part of *Aſia*, into a Confederacy againſt the *Medes*. The *Armenians* believing the *Medes* unable to make Head againſt this formidable Union, thought this a proper Time to recover their Liberty, and therefore they refuſed to pay their uſual Tribute, or ſend their Quota of Troops as required.

In the mean Time, *Cyaxares* perceiving the Intent of this Confederacy, uſed all poſſible Precaution to render it ineffectual; and made the greateſt Preparations to oppoſe his Enemies: And, leſt other dependant States

States might follow the Example of the *Armenians*, from their Impunity, he judged it neceſſary to cruſh this Revolt in the Beginning; Impunity for Offences always creating new Offenders. In Order to this, his Nephew, and Ally *Cyrus*, under a Pretence of Hunting, enters *Armenia* with an Army, ſurprizes the King; and, by an unexampled Inſtance of Clemency, re-eſtabliſheth him in his Kingdom; and in Return, receives from him a larger Tribute, and a greater Number of auxiliary Forces. Three Years were ſpent in Preparations for the War; and in the fourth, they entered upon Action. The confederate Army was full of Vigour and Reſolution; the *Median* and *Perſian* Forces were animated with Courage and Ardour in Purſuit of Honour, Diſcretion and Obedience to their Commanders, and Reſentment againſt the Enemy. The Armies meet, the *Babylonians* are routed; and the King, with his beſt Officers, and the braveſt of his Soldiers ſlain. The Leader being dead, the *Aſſyrians* deſpond; and their Confederates loſe their Courage, quit their ſtrong Camp, and march off in the Night. The next Day, *Cyrus* purſues the Enemies, overtakes them, and puts many of them to the Sword. On this Defeat, ſeveral Princes and Noblemen revolted, and *Cyrus* ravaged the Country, and took ſeveral Fortreſſes; while the *Babylonians*,

bylonians, with the greateſt Induſtry, fortified the City, and compleated thoſe Works at *Babylon*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unfiniſhed. *Sardis* having ſurrendered, and *Cræſus*, the chief Ally of *Belſhazzar*, being taken Priſoner, *Cyrus* ſets out for *Babylon*: And in his March, ſubdues *Phrygia Major*, *Cappadocia*, and *Arabia*; and at Length arrives before the City, with a mighty Multitude of Horſemen, Archers, Slingers, Javelin Men, &c. All Things proper for a Siege, or rather Blockade, are prepared. A large Trench ſurrounds the Walls, and vaſt Turrets are raiſed on the Ramparts; but the Inhabitants ſcoffed at the Works, vainly imagining their City to be impregnable. Notwithſtanding the City was blocked up, the Days were paſſed by the beſieged in Effeminacy and Luxury; and the Nights ſpent in Revelling and Drunkenneſs. Their Contempt of the Enemy was ſo great, that the Celebration of their Feſtivals was not diſcontinued, nor their Pride and Vanity in the leaſt humbled. *Cyrus* receiving Advice of grand Preparations to celebrate a Feſtival to the God *Bel*, forms a Deſign of turning the Courſe of the *Euphrates*, and entering the City by Night, while the Citizens made their Feaſts in their Heat, and the Princes and mighty Men of Valour were filled with Wine. While this Stratagem is carried on, the Feſtival is celebrated; and

Belſhazzar,

Belſhazzar, to pay the greater Honour to *Bel* his God, orders the Veſſels of Gold and Silver, taken by his Grandfather out of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, to be brought to the Banquet for the Uſe of his Lords, his Wives, and Concubines. On this, a Sentence of immediate Death on the Princes, and Overthrow of the Empire is pronounced by a Hand-Writing on the Wall of the Banquet-Houſe. At this Inſtant, *Cyrus* enters the City, marcheth to the Palace, ſlays the King and the Princes; and puts an End to the *Babylonian* Empire.

The Kingdom of *Babylon* being broken, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, a new Empire aroſe conſiſting of one hundred and twenty Provinces. The *Perſian* Inſtitution was renowned for the Encouragement of political and military Virtues. Temperance, Contempt of Death, Obedience to their Elders, and a Care to render the Body ſtrong and vigorous by proper Exerciſes, were Leſſons the young Men daily heard, and practiſed; and the Youth found to excel in theſe Virtues, was applauded and honoured by his Fellow Citizens. But, as theſe might be the Virtues of Barbarians and Robbers; and ſome of them were Perfections placed in Bones and Nerves; their Laws were not confined to the Care of the Body. The Embeliſhment of the Mind was principally aimed at; and moral Virtue

tue ſtrictly cultivated. The Education of the Child was taken from the Parent, and committed to an Order of Men choſen by the Publick. Their publick Academies were called by a Name derived from Liberty: There they paſſed their Youth in learning Juſtice, Modeſty, Gratitude, Truth, and Benevolence: Theſe private Virtues kept the publick Government in Health and Vigour, and rendered them worthy of that Empire which they ſoon obtained. From theſe Schools the mean tricking Arts, frequently practiſed by the venal Order of Mankind, were baniſhed; and nothing was ſeen that did not tend to render the Citizens incapable of committing any Action baſe or vile. In the *Cyropædia*, we have a full Account of the *Perſian* Conſtitution, which ſubſiſted in its full Force and Vigour, in the Reign of *Cyrus*: But the Sons of *Cyrus* fell into Diſſentions, and the Elder put the Younger to Death. Kingdoms and Nations revolted, and every Thing tended to Ruin. That their Degeneracy from Virtue, and their original Inſtitution may appear in a clearer Light, I ſhall here give a ſuccinct Account of their Manners, in the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the End of the *Peloponneſian* War, when the following Expedition was undertaken.

The maſculine and warlike Temper of their firſt Inſtitution was changed into a

Love

Love and Tendency for Pleaſures: Their ſtrict Obſervation of Oaths and publick Probity of Manners towards their Allies and Neighbours degenerated into Perfidy and open Deceit. The moſt flagitious Violater of an Oath, formerly the moſt deteſtable and odious Character, was then eſteemed the greateſt Benefactor to his Prince. Innocence was a ſufficient Cauſe for Puniſhment; and to be rich, was deemed no ſmall Crime: And their Impiety towards the Gods was as glaring as their Iniquity towards Men. Their political and military Virtue were leſs cultivated; and the Care to maſculate their Bodies by Fatigue and proper Exerciſes entirely laid aſide. Temperance gave Way to Exceſs in eating and drinking, whereby their Bodies were enervated, and their Underſtandings impaired. The Youths that excelled in Horſemanſhip, or throwing the Javelin, were no more encouraged with publick Rewards; and Lectures of Morality, Juſtice, and Equity, were ſeldom read in their Schools. Merit in theſe Virtues created Envy in the Nobility, and Jealouſy in the Prince: But Exorbitancy in Bribery and Vice, was the beſt Title to Favour and Preferment. In military Affairs they were greatly inferior to their Progenitors; to diſobey Orders was no rare Thing; and the Officers with Whips, and Scourges, drove their Soldiers on the Enemy.

nemy: And the Reaſon of this Alteration was this, That the Freeholders and Proprietors of Land formerly compoſed their Armies; but at that Time, Porters, Cooks, Drawers, and Bed-Makers, were inliſted by their great Men, who made an Advantage of their Pay. In ſhort, ſays *Xenophon*, they have leſs Piety towards the Gods, and Probity towards Men. Friendſhip and Conſanguinity, Juſtice and Equity, are empty Names. They are ſenſual, voluptuous and delicate, unfit for warlike Exploits; effeminate and weak at home, deſpicable and odious abroad.

CAMBYSES, having aſcended the Throne of *Cyrus*, conceives a Jealouſy againſt his younger Brother, and puts him to Death: The *Egyptians* revolting, are reduced to Obedience; but this Monarch dies in the Expedition, by an accidental Wound from his own Scymiter as he mounted his Horſe. On this, one of the *Magi* gives out, that he was the younger Son of *Cyrus*, who had happily eſcaped the Deſigns of *Cambyſes*. The Intereſt of the other *Magi*, and the near Reſemblance between him and the perſonated Prince, promoted this Deceit, and the Impoſtor was crowned; but his Reign was of a ſhort Duration, for the Cheat was detected, a great Part of the Sect ſlain, and the reſt held in univerſal Contempt and Abhorrence. The ſeven Princes,

who

who had deſtroyed this Uſurper, and his Adherents, having an equal Right to the Crown, and judging Monarchy, as eſtabliſhed by *Cyrus*, to be the beſt Form of Government, moſt agreeable to the Genius of the People, and beſt fitted for the Conſervation and Peace of their new Conqueſts, reſolve that one of themſelves ſhould be King, and leave the Election to the Determination of their God. The Sun, in their Language called *Cyrus*, is the Object of their Worſhip, and they believe, that Horſes are in a peculiar Manner the Favourites of their Deity, and ſacred to him. They therefore refer the Affair to the Salutation of the riſing Sun by their Horſes, and agree that the firſt Neighing ſhould be a Signal of the Favour of their God, and that he had elected the Rider to be King. This Election fell on *Darius* a Prince of *Perſia*, by the well known Device of his Groom, and Adoration was immediately paid to him by the reſt of the Competitors. The firſt Years of the Reign of *Darius* were taken up in ſettling the Affairs of his Empire, and reducing to Obedience the revolted *Babylonians*. From that Time, he made Preparation to ſubdue the *Europæan Scythians*, colouring his unjuſtifiable Thirſt of Conqueſt with the ſpecious Title of revenging former Injuries. This Expedition was no leſs unfortunate than ill projected,

and laid a Foundation for the Defection of the *Ionians* and *Aſiatic Greeks*, which ſoon broke out on a Quarrel between the *Grecian* Governour of *Miletus*, and the Præfect of *Darius*. *Ariſtagoras*, unable to cope with the *Perſian* Power, went into *Greece* to ſollicit the Aid of *Athens*, and *Sparta*, and engage them in his Intereſt. But, as this Sollicitation was the Original and Source of all the Calamities, which the *Perſians* brought on *Greece*, and at laſt of the Overthrow of the *Perſian* Power, I ſhall in this Place give a Sketch of the Genius and Policy of the People of *Athens* and *Sparta*.

THE civil Polity of theſe two potent Republicks, was regulated and reformed in the ſame Age, by two of the greateſt Legiſlators of Antiquity; but, the Genius of the People being different, there neceſſarily aroſe a Difference in the Forms of their Government. *Lycurgus* giving Laws to a People by Nature auſtere, temperate and laborious, eaſily reformed the Abuſes in their Polity. But the *Athenians* inconſtant, capricious, Lovers of Pleaſures, and jealous of Power, forced *Solon* to adapt his Laws to their Nature, which would not conform to Laws that enjoyned the regular Auſterities of the *Lacedemonians*. At *Sparta* the Kings had the executive Power in War, but the Direction of civil Affairs was in the Hands of Magiſtrates, not in the

the leaſt dependent on them. A Senate compoſed of twenty eight Men famous for their Wiſdom and Experience, were inveſted with the Legiſlative Power, and the People enjoyed the Right of electing the Senators, giving Sanction to their Decrees, and diſplacing and puniſhing all Officers. The Right of the Kings was hereditary in two Families, the Senate continued for Life; and the Magiſtrates were annually choſen by Rotation. Within the Space of an hundred Years, the Senate, and probably the Kings, extended their Prerogatives, and broke in on the Privileges of the People. This produced an Alteration in the Government, and the Inſtitution of the *Ephori*. They were Officers choſen out of the Body of the People to be the Protectors and Guardians of Liberty at *Sparta*. Theſe cemented the Orders of the Commonwealth; and equally controuled the regal Power, and popular Licentiouſneſs; and were a powerful Preſervative, though leſs efficacious than a parlimentary Security, of the reſpective Privileges of King, Senate, and People. From this Inſtitution of Government, modern Politicians have acquired their Knowledge of the Ballance of Power in a State; and from this *Harrington* borrowed the Baſis of his *Oceana*. In ſhort, it was an Empire of Laws, and not of Men, and the King paid a

more perfect Obedience to the Laws, than the meaneſt Subject. Theſe reciprocal Checks and Curbs of the ſeveral Orders on each other, kept the Government conſtant and uniform for more than 700 Years; whereas *Athens* experienced various Viciſſitudes and Revolutions, from a want of the Ballance of Power, and a due Diſtinction of the Prerogatives of the ſeveral Orders.

THE *Athenians* for many Ages under their Kings lived diſperſed in Villages, engaged in perpetual Broils among themſelves, and regardleſs of the common Good. To remedy theſe Miſchiefs, *Theſeus* made many wiſe and prudent Regulations; but, theſe proving ineffectual, a dear bought Experience, gave them an Inſight of the Defects of their Government. *Draco* was therefore inveſted with the Power of a Legiſlator, to reform the State, and inſtitute new Laws. But his ſanguinary Laws, written with Blood and not Ink, were a Diſeaſe in their Nature, and Effect; and produced Diſorders greater than thoſe they removed. The State relapſing into its original Confuſion, all the Citizens caſt their Eyes on a *Solon*, a Man whom military Virtues, Integrity, and Wiſdom, had given an Authority over the People, which his Humanity and Benevolence, would not ſuffer him to abuſe.

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The *Athenians* averſe from all Power, and impatient of all Empire over themſelves, even the Empire of Laws founded on Reaſon, could not brook a regal Government. Hence it became neceſſary to inſtitute a Democracy, and give to the People a Share in the Adminiſtration. This Form of Government planned out by *Theſeus*, he inſtituted and confirmed. His firſt Diſtribution of the Citizens, was according to the Valuation of their Eſtates into rich and poor. The Former became an hereditary Nobility, in whom he lodged the Right of filling Poſts of Honour and Truſt, from which he had excluded the Poor, which were the Body of the People, to whom he reſerved the Right and Power of Election to Offices. Having fixed a kind of Equality among the Citizens in the Adminiſtration, he inſtituted out of the ſeveral Tribes, a Council of five Hundred, called the Senate of the *Bean*. This Auguſt Body debated, conſidered and propounded all momentuous Affairs to the People, whoſe Votes in the great Aſſembly of the State finally determined, and ratified them. This general Convention of the People, had likewiſe the Power of cancelling old Laws, and giving Sanction to new Ones; of decreeing Rewards, and Honours; and inflicting Cenſures and Puniſhments. In ſhort, every important

Affair was decided by them, and they were the dernier Reſort of Juſtice. *Solon*, judging that the Ariſtocratical Part was not a ſufficient Ballance againſt the Democratical, re-eſtabliſhed and augmented the Power of the *Areopagus*. This Council was the Court of Judicature in criminal Caſes, and in the greateſt Repute for the Equity and Prudence of its Deciſions. This and the Senate of the *Bean*, were the Anchors, that kept the Commonwealth unſhaken, by the Reſtleſsneſs of the People. The Archons inſtituted long before *Solon*'s Time were continued. They ſucceeded in the Place of the Kings, and retained a ſhew of the regal Power. To them was committed the Superintendency of civil and religious Laws, and a cenſorial Power of inſpecting the Qualifications of inferior Magiſtrates; and were a kind of Ephori between the Senate and People. But all theſe Regulations were not a ſufficient Barrier againſt the Licentiouſneſs of the People, who infringed the Privileges of the Senate of the *Bean*, and adding the Power of debating to the Prerogative of decreeing, reduced the State to Anarchy.

THE Manners and Characters of theſe two Republicks, were as diſſimilar as their Forms of Government. Reaſon embelliſhed and refined by the Sciences, was

the

the Glory of the *Athenians*; Reaſon ſtripped of all Ornaments, unaſſiſted, and uncorrupted by Art, the Boaſt of the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* were characteriſed by a Delicacy of Wit, the *Spartans* by a Solidity of Senſe. A politeneſs of Behaviour diſtinguiſhed the *Athenians*; a moroſe and rough Deportment the *Spartans*. *Athens*, was in her Meaſures, ambitious, giddy, humourſome, inconſtant and capricious. *Sparta*, was ambitious, but ſteady, conſtant, and acting by fixed and invariable Rules. Both Cities poſſeſſed a great Fund of Humanity, were compaſſionate, kind, and benevolent. At *Athens* theſe Virtues were the Effect of Nature; at *Sparta*, the Work of the Laws of *Lycurgus*. *Athens* loved and affected Pleaſure; *Sparta* enjoined and practiſed Labour. *Athens* was the Theatre of Commerce to all Mankind, hence Intereſt equally with Glory influenced her Affairs; at *Sparta*, Commerce was prohibited; and Glory alone directed her Reſolves. Both Cities were paſſionately fond of Liberty; but the Liberty of *Athens* frequently broke out into Licentiouſneſs; whereas at *Sparta*, it was reſtrained by Laws within due Bounds. I ſhall finiſh this Portraiture of thoſe two Republicks with the Form of Oath, which the young *Athenians* took on their Enrollment in the Liſt of Citizens. "I

" Swear never to debaſe the Honour of " a Soldier, by Cowardice or Flight. I " will always join in Battle with my " Fellow Citizens, to defend the Liberty " and Religion of the State; nor will I " refuſe any Enterprize in Perſon alone " if required. I will not commit any " Thing detrimental to my Country, " but on all Occaſions conſult the pub- " lick Good. I will pay a perfect Obe- " dience, not only to the civil Magiſtrates " and the Laws now in Force; but like- " wiſe to all ſuch Laws, as ſhall hereafter " receive the Sanction of the People. " All Attempts to aboliſh and infringe " the Laws, I will not only not conceal; " but I will alone, or in concert with " my Fellow-Citizens oppoſe and with- " ſtand them. I acknowledge the Gods " of my Anceſtors, and will not intro- " duce new Divinities. I ſwear faithful- " ly to perform all this; So help me " *Agraules*, *Enyalus*, *Mars* and *Jupiter*.

THE *Lacedemonians* were unwilling to come to a Rupture with the *Perſians*, whoſe Power was at that Time very formidable to *Greece*; but the *Athenians* ſent twenty Ships to the Aſſiſtance of *Ariſtagoras*, and took *Sardis*, which by an accidental Fire, was reduced to Aſhes. From this Time *Darius* made Preparations to revenge this Inſult of the *Athenians*; againſt

gainſt whom his Reſentment was every Day inflamed by one of his Courtiers, crying aloud at Dinner, *REMEMBER SARDIS.* Having raiſed an Army of 300,000 Men, he ſent it under the Command of two Generals to ſubdue *Greece. Naxus, Eubæa,* and ſome other Iſlands being taken, they paſſed over into *Attica* under the Conduct of *Hippias,* now the Betrayer, as formerly the Tyrant of his Country. In the Plains of *Marathon,* this unwieldy Body was met by *Miltiades* with 11000 *Grecians.* On the *Barbarian* Side, was a confuſed Multitude, bodily Force, and a blind Impetuoſity; on the *Athenian* Side, Paucity of well diſciplin'd Veterans, bodily Strength improved by Exerciſe, and a well regulated Fortitude. The *Perſians* were moved by a faint Deſire of Conqueſt, the *Græcians* actuated and animated with an ardent Love of Liberty, and Abhorrence of Servitude. The Succeſs was anſwerable to the Experience of the Combatants, and the Motives of their Courage; for the *Barbarians* baffled, beaten, routed, and diſperſed, returned into *Aſia,* full of Shame and Diſgrace. This Victory was of the greateſt Conſequence to the Liberties of *Greece,* and the Preſage of her future Trophies; and *Demoſthenes* to gain Credit to any Propoſal for the Defence of Liberty, was wont to Swear by

by all thoſe Men that died in the Battle of *Marathon*; and *Lucian* relates, that this great Man expired with that Oath in his Mouth. This defeat did not daunt *Darius*, but rather added Fuel to his Reſentment, and furniſhed him with another Pretence for ſubjecting *Greece* to his Ambition, a Paſſion, that never fails to find or create Pretexts for the Attainment of its Deſigns. *Themiſtocles* foreſeeing, that the late Victory, far from extricating them from their Troubles, would bring their Enemies againſt *Greece*, with a more powerful Army, by an happy Turn of Thought, induces the *Athenians* to augment their Naval Forces, and add an hundred Gallies to their Fleet. This was a Step of the greateſt Prudence, the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Greece*, and is worthy Imitation by all maritime Powers.

DEATH prevented *Darius* from putting his Deſigns in Execution, but this did not deliver *Greece* from the Effects of his mighty Preparations. *Xerxes*, Heir to the Crown, and revengeful Sentiments of his Father *Darius*, ſtirs up all the World againſt the Realm of *Greece*, and gains the Paſs of *Thermopylæ* by Treachery, and a Victory dearly purchaſed. From thence he marches into *Attica* without Oppoſition, and takes *Athens*, which had

had been deſerted by all its Inhabitants. Hither alſo came his Navy far exceeding in Number the *Græcian* Fleet; which rode in the Streights of *Salamis* full of Diſſention, and Animoſities, and on the Point of ſeparating and giving up the Liberties of *Greece* to the *Perſian*. *Themiſtocles* judging, that a Separation muſt be fatal, when the cloſeſt Union could ſcarce preſerve them, by a Maſter-piece of Policy, not only prevents a Diviſion of their Forces, but brings the *Perſian* to an Engagement in a Place, and at a Time, the moſt Advantageous to the *Græcians*. The Cauſe of Liberty again prevailed, and this formidable Armament was defeated. *Xerxes*, ſtruck with an Apprehenſion of being ſhut up in *Greece*, fled with great Precipitation to the *Helleſpont*, over which he paſſed in a fiſhing Boat, fallen from that Haughtineſs of Spirit, which a few Months before had threatned to fetter the Sea, and like a God, ſaid unto it: *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further; and here ſhall thy proud Waves be ſtayed.* Three hundred thouſand Men, ſelected out of the Land-Forces were left under the Command of *Mardonius*, who had engaged to ſubdue *Greece* with that Army. In the Winter, while his Forces were idle, he tampered with the *Athenians*, and attempted

tempted to draw them from the reſt of the Allies, by the moſt alluring Offers; but nothing could prevail on them to abandon the Intereſt of *Greece*. This was of greater Value than their City, and Liberty was more glorious than the moſt ſplendid Edifices. Early in the Spring the confederated Forces of *Greece* full of Ardour, Alacrity, and Reſentment for the Deſtruction of the firſt City of *Greece*, go in queſt of the Enemy, whom they find at *Platæa*. They engage with him, rout him, and cut the whole Army in Pieces. On the ſame Day the *Athenians* defeated a *Perſian* Army in *Aſia*, and deſtroyed the Shipping, that had eſcaped the preceding Year from *Salamis*. Theſe ſucceſſive Defeats humbled the Pride of the *Perſian*, and baniſhed all his Hope of conquering *Greece*, and adding *Europe* to *Aſia*. The Glory of *Athens* was at this Time raiſed to ſo high a Pitch; that it eclipſed the Fame of *Sparta*; who, jealous of this powerful Rival, oppoſed the Rebuilding of her Walls, alledging they might prove a Receptacle to their Enemies in future Invaſions. Here the Sagacity of *Themiſtocles* became again neceſſary againſt the pretended Friends, as formerly againſt the Enemies of his Country; and *Athens* ſaw her Walls repaired, and her private and publick

publick Buildings reſtored by his Prudence. The *Lacedemonian* General, that had commanded at *Platea*, being at the Head of the confederate Forces in *Thrace*, behaved himſelf ſo haughtily toward the Allies, that diſguſted at his Inſolence, they renounced the Sovereignty of *Sparta*, and put themſelves under the Protection of *Athens*, which now claimed the Supremacy of Command at Sea. A Series of good Offices acquired to them this Juriſdiction and the common Treaſury of *Greece*. And this Authority was alternately loſt, and reſtored to them, as the Exerciſe of their Power was tyrannical or mild. The Jealouſy of *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, Competitors for Fame, produced happy Effects during the War with *Perſia*; but that War being ended, the ſame Jealouſy turned their Arms into their own Bowels; and that martial Spirit, that had baffled *Aſia*, reſtleſs and uneaſy excited them againſt each other; and thoſe Nations that lately with united Forces had fought for the Liberty of the *Grecians* in *Aſia*; divided by Intereſts form themſelves in Parties, and ſtrive to enſlave the *Grecians* in *Europe*. Theſe inteſtine and unnatural Commotions commenced the more early through the Intrigues of a ſingle *Athenian*, who having ſquandered the publick Money, and being unable to make up his Accounts, followed the Advice of a Boy, and choſe to involve his

his Country in a War, rather than ſubmit to the Judgment of a People, capricious indeed, but full of Humanity and good Nature. How unhappy is that Nation, and near Deſtruction, whoſe Revenues are in the Hands of profuſe, corrupt, or avaritious Adminiſtrators? The two Parties, reſolved on War ſtrengthen themſelves by Alliances. The Communities in *Peloponneſus*, and on the Continent without the *Iſthmus* joined with the *Lacedemonians*. The *Athenians* preferred the Friendſhip of the Iſlands, well knowing the Truth of this Maxim, "That a War muſt "conclude in Favour of the Power ſupe-"rior by Sea." In the Beginning of the War, the *Lacedemonians* and their Allies invaded *Attica*, and laid the Country waſte; while *Pericles* reſtrained his Forces within the Walls of the City; and taking Advantage of the Abſence of the *Spartans*, he puts to Sea with ſome Land-Forces on board of his Fleet, and landing in *Laconia*, he depopulates the Country in ſuch a Degree, as that the Diſadvantage was viſibly on the *Spartan* Side. And had the *Athenians* conſtantly purſued theſe Meaſures, they had remained invincible; but graſping at too great a Power, they ſunk beneath their own Weight. The War was now proſecuted with ſuch Eagerneſs, as that they ſought diſtant Alliances; and both Parties as Suppliants ſued to the King of *Perſia* for Aſſiſtance.

ſtance. Strange Reverſe of Fortune! That thoſe two potent Cities, lately ſo ſtrongly united againſt the *Perſian*, ſhould court an Union with him againſt each other. For ſeveral ſucceeding Campaigns, the ſame Methods of carrying on the War were obſerved, and the ſame Incidents aroſe. Yearly Incurſions were made into *Attica*, and the Country ravaged; and in Return, the *Athenians* Maſters of the Sea, made Deſcents on the Coaſts of their Enemies, and amply retaliated their Injuries. In the 18th Year of the War the *Athenians* intoxicated with their Proſperity reſolved on the Conqueſt of *Sicily*. This Iſland they looked on as already ſubjected to their Power, and the Citizens in their publick Meetings talked of making it a Place of Arms, from whence they could eaſily proceed to ſubdue *Carthage*, and all *Africa*. This chimerical Project took its Riſe from the Vanity of the People, which was fomented by the Ambition of *Alcibiades*. It was in vain oppoſed by *Nicias*, *Socrates*, and other wiſe Citizens, who were convinced of the Difficulty, and fatal Conſequences of it. The wiſeſt Remonſtrances had no Effect on the People inflamed by a raſh and preſumptuous General. The firſt Succeſſes in *Scicily* were equal to their Expectations. *Syracuſe* is blocked up, ſeveral Nations declare for the *Athenians*, and the City is on the Point of coming to a Capitulation. In this Criſis,

Advice

Advice is brought, that the *Spartans*, and *Corinthians* are coming to their Relief. The *Syracuſans* reanimated with this ſeaſonable Succour, think no more of capitulating. They put their Forces under the Conduct of *Gylippus*, the *Lacedemonian* General; they ſtorm the *Athenian* Works, defeat their Gallies, ſhut up their Eſcape by Sea, beat their Land Forces, raiſe the Siege, purſue them in their Retreat, rout them afreſh, and oblige the whole Army to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners at Diſcretion. This was the End of that wild and ambitious Expedition; an End highly ſuitable to the Deſign, and affords a ſignal Inſtance of the Impotence of tyrannical Oppreſſion, acting againſt a Love for Liberty. The *Athenians* a few Years before, fired with a Zeal for Liberty, had withſtood the united Forces of the *Eaſt*; but now hurried on by Ambition, and commencing Tyrants, they were defeated and overthrown by an Enemy, whom they held in the utmoſt Contempt. This unexpected Blow, threw the *Athenians* into the deepeſt Deſpair; but the firſt Surprize being paſt, they rouſe their Courage, raiſe Money, levy freſh Forces, build new Gallies, and omit nothing that could in the preſent Juncture tend to preſerve their City, and repulſe their Enemies. One Expedient they hit on, which was of greater Service to the State at this Time, than all the reſt; they aboliſh the popular Aſſemblies,

blies, and reduce their Comitia to 500. This baniſhed all the Clamours and Turbulence of the Populace, brought the State to a right Order, as *Thucydides* obſerves, and enabled *Athens* once more to diſpute the Empire of the Sea with the *Lacedemonians*; and is the firſt Example recorded in Hiſtory of a People acting by Repreſentatives. This prudent Alteration, with other wiſe and vigorous Meaſures, produced very ſalutary Effects, and their Enemies were in ſeveral Engagements at Sea defeated. The Affairs of the *Lacedemonians*, being at a very low Ebb, they ſent Propoſals to the *Athenians* for reeſtabliſhing Peace and Amity, and offered to divide with them the Empire of *Greece*. It is ſurprizing, that Propoſals of ſo ſtrange a Nature did not diſſolve the Confederacy of the other *Græcians* with *Sparta*, and unite them all againſt her: For what might not be expected from Men, who were capable of renouncing the glorious Title of the *Guardians of the Liberty of* Greece, and ſuing to the *Athenians* to be Sharers in her Spoil and Rapine? And how muſt the *Perſian* rejoyce to hear the joint Deliverers of *Greece* entering into Treaties to become her joint Oppreſſors?

THE *Athenians*, elated with their frequent Succeſſes, and inſolent with Proſperity, would not bear an Equal in their Oppreſſions; nor could the *Lacedemonians*,

although dejected with their Loſſes, think of a Superior. The Treaty was therefore broken off, and the War renewed with Vigour by both Parties. Soon after, there offered another Opportunity of reſtoring Peace and Liberty to *Greece*; but this was loſt by an unſeaſonable Victory of the *Athenians*. *Callicratides*, General of the *Spartan* Forces, a Man of ſtrict Probity and Honour, and worthy to be ranked among the firſt Men of *Greece*, applying to the King of *Perſia*'s Viceroy of his maritime Provinces in *Aſia Minor*, met with ſuch inſolent and ſervile Treatment, as that he returned to *Epheſus*, fully bent on reconciling *Greece*, and by an indiſſoluble Union rendering her formidable to the *Barbarian*. He was convinced, that Application and Court to the *Perſian*, was the baſeſt Proſtitution of her Liberty, and that a ſubmiſſive Attendance at Gates dignified by Riches without Virtue, was meanly ſervile, and unbecoming the Grandeur of a *Græcian* Soul. But, this excellent Man being ſoon after ſlain in a Naval Engagement, thoſe noble Deſigns died with him. After this Defeat, the *Lacedemonians* gave the Command of their Fleet to *Lyſander*, a Man of a moſt corrupt Heart, and a *Spartan* in nothing but Valour and military Skill. By Artifice rather than by Courage, in leſs than one Hour, he defeated and took the whole

whole Naval Force of *Athens*, eight Gallies excepted, which eſcaped under the Command of *Conon*; and, by the Addition of the Fox's Tail to the Skin of the Lion, performed an Exploit inferior to none recorded in Hiſtory. After this *Athens* is blocked up by Sea and Land, and having endured all the Calamities of a populous City, beſieged by an implacable Enemy, would have obſerved Decency in her Fall; but this her inveterate Foes would not grant. At laſt Famine preſſing no leſs than the Enemy, ſhe is forced to ſubmit to the Demands of *Sparta*. Immediately the City was diſmantled, the Fortifications of her Sea Ports demoliſhed, with an inſulting Pomp, and unbecoming Triumph; a ſervile League was ratified with her Enemies to aid and aſſiſt them with all her Forces, and a Renunciation made of all Claim to an Equality of Command at Sea. Theſe ſevere Terms were more mild and gentle than the Conditions inſiſted on by the Allies of *Sparta*. The Razing of the City, and Slavery of the Inhabitants was propoſed in a general Aſſembly of the Confederates; but the *Lacedemonian* Grandeur of Soul would not tread on the Dead, nor ſuffer one of the Eyes of *Greece* to be plucked out; or one of the Columns of her Liberty to be deſtroyed.

About the End of this War, *Cyrus* undertook his Expedition againſt his Brother. On the Death of that young Prince, the *Græcian* Auxiliaries meditated that Retreat, which is the Subject of the following Treatiſe. A Retreat, which hath been admired by all Ages; but which no Age could yet parallel. This Retreat hinted to *Ageſilaus*, the Poſſibility of making the *Perſian* tremble in his Palace at *Suſa*, and ſubverting that mighty Empire. This demoſtrated to the *Græcians*, that their Soldiery was ſuperior to Numbers, and their Valour to bodily Force, and inſpired them with a Contempt of the *Perſian* Effeminacy. This Retreat gave Birth to the Deſigns of *Philip*, which were brought to Maturity by his Son *Alexander*. His rapid Succeſſes aſtoniſhed the World, and gave an undeniable Proof, that a petty Prince, at the Head of well-diſciplined Forces, nurtured in the Love of Liberty, is capable of oppoſing and vanquiſhing the moſt powerful Monarch, ſurrounded with numerous Guards and Armies, the Slaves of abſolute Power and arbitrary Will.

THE

THE (a) ASCENT OF CYRUS the Younger, &c.

BOOK I.

DARIUS had by *Paryſatis* two Sons; the Name of the Elder was *Artaxerxes*, and the Younger was called (b) *Cyrus*.

Darius being broken with Infirmities, and apprehending that his Life was drawing to an End, had an earneſt Deſire to ſee both

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(a) Archbiſhop *Uſher* aſcribes this Hiſtory to *Themiſtogenes* of *Syracuſe*, by whom *Xenophon*, in the third Book of his *Grecian* Hiſtory, tells us, an Account of this Expedition was written; but in this Opinion the Archbiſhop ſtands almoſt Singular, having the Authority of all the Antients againſt him, and being followed herein by none but Dr. *Prideaux*. Had we no Teſtimonies concerning the Author, the Conformity of the Style with the reſt of his Works, and that Vein of Piety, which runs tho' the whole Narration would be ſufficient Arguments to prove that *Xenophon* was the Author of this Hiſtory. And we muſt either allow him to be the Writer of it, or diſown him for the Author of all the other Pieces that paſs under his Name.

(b) This *Cyrus* received his Name from the elder *Cyrus*. *Suidas* derives the Etymology of this Word from the *Greek* Κύριος, becauſe *Cyrus* acted as Lord and Maſter over the

both his Sons. *Artaxerxes* was at that Time present at the Court, and the King sent for *Cyrus* from his Government; for he had constituted him *Satrap* of several Provinces, and nominated him General of all the Troops, that are reviewed in the Plain of *Castolus*. *Cyrus* goes up to his Father with *Tissaphernes*, his pretended Friend, and a Guard of 300 *Grecians*, under the Command of *Xenias* of *Parrhasia*.

Artaxerxes was scarce settled on the Throne, after the Death of *Darius*, when *Tissaphernes* accuses *Cyrus* of treasonable (*c*) Practices against his Brother. The King gives Ear to the Accusation, and orders *Cyrus* to be apprehended, with an Intent to put him to Death, but he is pardoned at the Intercession of his Mother, and sent back to his Government.

Full of the Danger and Affront he had suffered, he Studies how to free himself from all Dependance on his Brother, and, if possible, to dispossess him of his Crown; and *Parysatis*, who had a greater Affection for him than *Artaxerxes*, favoured his Designs.

The

Boys, that were his Play Fellows. But he was rather (perhaps for the same Reason) so named from the *Sun*, which in the *Persian* Language is called *Cyrus*. Mr. *Dacier* is of Opinion that the *Grecians* formed their Κύριος from the *Persian Cyrus*, because it bears the same Signification. And this Opinion carries with it the greater Force, if we consider, that Languages passed from the East into the West, and that the Word Κύριος was not in Use among the *Grecians*, till after their Communication with the *Persians*.

(*c*) This Conspiracy was a Design formed by *Cyrus* to assassinate his Brother in the Temple of *Pasargates*, where the Kings of *Persia* were always crowned. But this Design came to nothing by the Discovery of *Tissaphernes*. The several Circumstances may be seen in the Life of *Artaxerxes*, written by *Plutarch*.

The Courtiers, that the King ſent with Meſſages to him, by his Addreſs, he won over to his Party. He was alſo ſtudious in endearing himſelf to his *Barbarian* Subjects, and training them up to be good Soldiers. He levyed Forces in *Greece*, with all poſſible Secrecy, in hopes to ſurprize the King; He alſo gave Orders to the Officers, that were to recruit his Garriſons, to liſt as many able bodied Men, as they could, in the *Peloponneſus*; for that *Tiſſaphernes* had an Eye on the Cities. The King had conferred on *Tiſſaphernes* the Government of *Ionia*; but all the Cities, *Miletus* excepted, had fallen off from him to *Cyrus*. The *Mileſians* alſo had formed the ſame Deſign; but before they could put it in Execution, *Tiſſaphernes* came to the Knowledge of it, and put ſeveral of the Citizens to Death, and baniſhed others. The Exiles were entertained by *Cyrus*, who raiſed an Army, laid Siege to *Miletus* both by Sea and Land, and uſed his utmoſt Efforts to reſtore the Fugitives. This ſerved him as another Pretence to levy Forces. He alſo wrote to the King in ſubmiſſive Terms, requeſting, that the Government of thoſe Cities might be granted to him, who was his Brother, rather than to *Tiſſaphernes*; and herein alſo *Paryſatis* was aſſiſtant to him. This removed all Jealouſy of a Deſign againſt the King, who imagined that he would exhauſt his Treaſures in his warlike Preparations againſt *Tiſſaphernes*; and therefore was not under any concern at their Differences: Beſides, *Tiſſaphernes* had retained to himſelf the Tribute of thoſe Cities, which was now punctually remitted to him by *Cyrus*.

There were other Forces levyed for him in the *Cherroneſus*, oppoſite to *Abydus*, in this Manner.

There was one *Clearchus*, an Exile from Sparta, whoſe Converſation ſtruck *Cyrus* with ſuch Admiration of the Man, that he preſented him with 10000 (*d*) *Darics*. With this Money *Clearchus*, raiſed a ſmall Army, and from the *Cherroneſus* made an Irruption into that Part of *Thrace* that lies on the *Helleſpont*. The *Grecian* Cities in thoſe Parts, conſidering the Advantages they reaped from this Army, made voluntary Contributions to maintain it: And in this Manner was this Army ſecretly kept on foot for him. *Ariſtippus* of *Theſſaly*, formerly Gueſt to *Cyrus*, being expelled his Country by an over powerful Faction, flies to *Cyrus*, and ſollicits from him 2000 Mercenaries,

(*d*) Theſe *Darics* received their Name from the firſt *Darius*, in Scripture firnamed the *Mede*, Son, or rather Grandſon to *Aſtyages*. After the Conqueſt of the Weſtern Parts of *Aſia* by *Cyrus*, his General; he coined theſe *Darics* of the fineſt Gold, and probably out of the vaſt Treaſures found at *Sardis*, and of the ſame Weight with the Stater *Craſus*. This Coin was on the one Side impreſſed with the Effigies of an Archer, crowned with a ſpiked Crown, holding a Bow in his left Hand, and an Arrow in his Right. And to this Coin *Ageſilaus* alluded, when he ſaid that he was driven out of *Aſia* by 10000 *Perſian* Archers. Writers differ very much as to the Value of this Coin. *Herodotus* values a Daric at 20 Attic Drachms, or 12 *s.* 11 *d. Engliſh* Money. But this can be underſtood of no other than the Silver Daric, which according to Dr. *Arbuthnot* weighed 25 Attic Drachms. Dr. *Bernard*, and Mr. *Brerewood* Value the Daric at an *Engliſh* Guinea, and Dr. *Prideaux* reckons it may be worth (its Fineneſs conſidered) 1 *l.* 5 *s.* Dr. *Arbuth.not* from *Joſephus* computes its worth at 50 Attic Drachms, or 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* half penny, but *Joſephus* in the 7th Chap. of his 3d Book writes, that the golden Spoon, which the Princes of *Iſrael* offered, was worth ten Darics. And the ſame in Numbers, 7th Chap. 14th Verſe, is valued at ten golden Shekels; and conſequently, according to *Joſephus*, a Daric is of the ſame Value as the golden Shekel. But Dr. *Arbuthnot* values the golden Shekel at 1 *l.* 16 *s.* 6 *d.*

naries, and Money to ſubſiſt them for three Months, that he might be in a Condition to ſupport himſelf againſt the oppoſite Faction. *Cyrus* granted him 4000 Mercenaries, with their Pay for ſix Months, and deſired him not to come to any Terms with his Enemies, 'till he ſhould be adviſed of them. And thus theſe Forces were ſecretly maintained for him in *Theſſaly*. He alſo deſired *Proxenus* of *Bœotia*, with whom he had contracted a Friendſhip, to liſt as many Men as he could, and march to his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Piſidians* who infeſted his Provinces. He likewiſe ſent to *Sophœnetus* of *Stymphalus*, and *Socrates* of *Achaa*, who had been his Gueſts, to repair unto him with what Troops they could raiſe to aſſiſt him, in Conjunction with the *Mileſian* Exiles againſt *Tiſſaphernes*. All theſe obeyed his Summons.

His Deſigns being now ripe to begin his March into the Upper Provinces, he gave out, that he deſigned to exterminate the whole Nation of the *Piſidians*, and that this was the Occaſion of the Rendezvous of the *Grecian* and *Barbarian* Troops in thoſe Parts. He ſends Orders alſo to *Clearchus*, to repair unto him with all his Forces; and to *Ariſtippus*, to compromiſe all Differences with his Enemies, and ſend him his Troops. *Xenias* of *Arcadia*, Commander of all the foreign Troops in his Garriſons, received Orders to repair unto him with all the Troops, but what were abſolutely neceſſary for the Defence of the Citadels. He alſo recalled his Troops from the Siege of *Miletus*, and deſired the Exiles to accompany him in his Expedition, aſſuring them, that if it met with Succeſs, he would not reſt till he had reinſtated them in their City. They readily complied with his Requeſt (for they placed great Confidence in him)

him) and marched with their Forces to *Sardis*. *Xenias* alſo arrived at *Sardis* with 4000 heavy armed Foot, which he had drained out of the Garriſons. *Proxenus* carried to him 1500 heavy armed and 500 light-armed Foot; *Sophænetus* 1000 heavy armed Troops, *Socrates* of *Achæa* 500, and *Paſion* of *Megara*, a Body of 700 Men. *Socrates* and *Paſion* had been at the Siege of *Miletus*. All theſe Troops joined him at *Sardis*.

Tiſſaphernes, having Intelligence of theſe Preparations, and judging them to be too extraordinary for an Armament againſt the *Piſidians*, takes a Guard of 500 Horſe, and goes with all imaginable Expedition to the King, who on Advice of theſe Preparations of *Cyrus*, began to take Precautions againſt them.

Cyrus ſet out from *Sardis* with the Troops mentioned before, and in three Days penetrated 22 (*e*) *Paraſangs* through *Lydia* to the *Meander*; this River was two (*f*) *Plethrons* broad, and on it was laid a Bridge of ſeven Ships. Having paſſed this River, he advances in one Day eight Paraſangs into *Phrygia* as far as *Coloſſus*, a populous, large and flouriſhing City. Here he halted ſeven Days, and was joined by *Menon* of *Theſſaly*, with 1000 heavy armed Men, and 500 light-armed, *Dolopians*, *Ænianes* and *Olynthians*. Hence marching 20 Paraſangs in three Days, he reached (*g*) *Celane*, a populous

(*e*) A Paraſang contains 30 Stadia, or three Eaſtern Miles, and ſix Stadia, which makes four *Engliſh* Miles, 153 Paces.

(*f*) A Plethron is computed by *Suidas* at 100 Feet.

(*g*) *Livy* in the 13th Chap. of his 38th Book tells us, that this was formerly the Capital City of *Phrygia*. It received its Name from an adjacent Mountain, called by *Strabo* and *Ptolomy*, *Mons Celenes*. The common Opinion is, that the Hill took its Name from *Celenus*, one of the Sons of *Hercules*. But Mr. *Dacier* thinks that the Name is deriv-

a populous, large and flouriſhing City in *Phrygia*. Here *Cyrus* had a Palace, and a Park well ſtocked with wild Beaſts, which he ſometimes hunted on Horſeback to exerciſe himſelf and Horſes. The *Meander* hath its riſe in the Palace, and runs through the Park and City. The (*b*) *Great King* alſo hath in *Celane*, a Palace ſtrongly fortified, lying under the Citadel at the Head of the *Marſyas*; this River is 25 foot wide, runs thro' the City, and falls into the *Meander*. It is reported that *Apollo* having obtained the Victory over *Marſyas* in a Diſpute

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ed from the *Greek* Word Κέλαινος becauſe the Hill abounded with Stones, that were turned black, by the Subterraneous Fires. But why ſhould Mr. *Dacier* ſeek for a *Greek* Derivation for a *Phrygian* Town, when he would not allow a *Perſian* Name to be derived from a *Greek* Original.

(*b*) *Diodorus Siculus* writes, that *Seſooſis* King of *Egypt*, in all his Conqueſts erected Pillars, with this Inſcription, *Seſooſis* King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, ſubdued this Country by Arms. But the firſt Time we meet with this pompous Title of Great King in Hiſtory, is in the Reign of *Hezekiah*, when *Rabſhekah* gives it to the King of *Aſſyria*. After the Fall of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, the Kings of *Perſia* aſſumed it. And when the *Parthian* Empire flouriſhed, *Artabanus* the 4th aſſumed the Titles of Great King, and King of Kings. Hence it paſſed to the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, who inſcribed on their Armouries four B's, ſignifying thereby Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων, Βασιλεύων, Βασιλεύει King of Kings, reigning over Kings. This Vanity is yet kept up in the Eaſt, and among the Turks, in the haughty Title of Grand Signior. *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta* had a more refined and juſt Taſte of true Grandeur than thoſe ambitious Princes, and knew that Power without Juſtice was Tyrannical and Uſeleſs, and when one told him that the great King, meaning the King of *Perſia*, would have it ſo, he replyed, how is he greater than I am, unleſs he is more juſt. This Piece of vain Glory, with other Vanities hath reached thoſe weſtern Partsof the World, and our Chriſtian Princes have aſſumed Titles, indeed more Magnificent and truly Noble; but I believe, that on Examination, they would be found to belong as little to them.

pute for Wiſdom, flayed his Antagoniſt, and hung up his Skin in the Cave, whence the River iſſues, and that this gives the Name of *Marſyas* to the River. It is the common Report that *Xerxes*, after his Defeat in *Greece*, retired hither, and built the Palace and Citadel.

Cyrus ſpent 30 Days in this City, and was joined by *Clearchus*, the *Lacædemonian* Exile, with a Body of a 1000 heavy armed Foot, 800 *Thracian* Targeteers, and 200 *Cretan* Archers; at the ſame Time arrived *Sophænetus* of *Arcadia* with 1000, and *Soſias* of *Syracuſe* with 300 heavy-armed Men. *Cyrus* ordered a Review and Muſter of the *Gracians* in the Park, and found their Number to be 11000 heavy-armed Foot, and 2000 Targeteers. Hence he proceeds in 2 Days 10 Paraſangs, and reaches *Pelte*, a populous City, where he reſted three Days. *Xenias* of *Arcadia* ſolemnized the (*i*) *Lycæan* Feſtival, and appointed Games, of which *Cyrus* was a Spectator. The Prizes propoſed for the Victors were golden Fleſh-Bruſhes. Marching 12 Paraſangs more, in two Days he advances to the Mart of the *Ceramians*, a populous City on the Frontiers of *Myſia*. Hence in three Encampments of 30 Paraſangs he reaches the Plain

(*i*) This Feſtival was peculiar to the *Arcadians*, and was carried into *Italy* by *Evander*, who there inſtituted it under the Name of *Lupercalia*. It ſignifies as much as the Feaſt of the Wolves; and the common Opinion is, that it owes its Original to the Metamorphoſis of *Lycaon* into a Wolf by *Jupiter*. But as the *Lupercalia* were inſtituted in Honour of *Pan*, and the Mountain *Lycæus* in *Arcadia* was conſecrated to that God, I am inclined to believe that the *Arcadians* inſtituted this Feſtival to *Pan*, in Gratitude to him, for deſtroying the Wolves that infeſted *Arcadia*, and chiefly the Mountain *Lycæus*. You may ſee a large Account of the *Lupercalia* in *Plutarch*'s Life of *Romulus*.

Plain of *Cayſter*, where was a populous City of the ſame Name; here he continued five Days, and there being more than three Months Pay due to the Army, the Soldiers made frequent Demands of it even at the Gates of his Palace. It was not uſual for *Cyrus* to be in Arrears to the Army when he had Money, and he could not at this Time conceal his Perplexity at the Neceſſity he was in, to put them off with fair Promiſes. *Epyaxa*, Wife to *Syenneſis*, King of *Cilicia* pays a Viſit to *Cyrus* at this Place, and by Report, made him large Preſents of Money, out of which he gave the Army four Months Pay. The Queen was attended with a Guard of *Cilicians* and *Aſpendians*, and it was rumour'd that *Cyrus* was familiar with her. Hence in two Days he marches 10 Paraſangs to *Thymbræa*, a populous City: Near the publick Road is the Fountain of *Midas*, King of *Phrygia*, where by Report he took (*k*) a *Satyr*, by mixing Wine with Water. In two Days he reaches *Tyriæum*, a populous City, 10 Paraſangs diſtant from *Thymbræa*, ; here he had halted three Days, and reviews his whole Army, both *Græcians* and *Barbarians*, at the Requeſt, as was reported, of the *Cilician* Queen.

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(*k*) The Satyr here mentioned was *Silenus*. Several Authors make Mention of his being taken in this Manner. And *Cicero* in his *Tuſculan* Queſtions, relates, that he purchaſed his Liberty from *Midas*, by this memorable Saying. That it is beſt for Man not to enter on this Stage of Life, and for thoſe already entered on it, to quit it as ſoon as poſſible. *Herodotus* writes, that *Perdiccas* the Firſt, King of *Macedon*, fled to a Part of *Macedon*, near the Gardens of *Midas*, and that *Silenus*, according to the Account of the Natives, was taken in thoſe Gardens. But this Account muſt have been falſe, as the Dominions of *Midas* were remote from *Macedon*; in ſhort the whole ſavours ſtrong of the fabulous

The *Græcians* by his Orders were drawn up in four Lines, under their ſeveral Leaders, according to the different Diſcipline of their Countries. *Menon* with his Forces was on the Right, *Clearchus* on the Left, and the other Generals with their Troops in the Center. The *Barbarians* were reviewed firſt, the Infantry by Battalions, and the Horſe by Squadrons. The Helmets of the *Græcians* were of Braſs, their cloathing was of Scarlet, and their Greaves and Bucklers neatly poliſhed. *Cyrus* rode along their Ranks in a Chariot, and was attended by the Queen in a Litter; when he had paſſed by the whole Front, he turned back to the Center, and, making a Stand there, ſent *Pigres*, his Interpreter, with Orders to the *Græcian* Generals to lead forward their Troops with their Arms, protended as for a Charge. Theſe Orders were delivered to the Soldiers, who, at the ſound of the Trumpet made ready their Arms as for a Charge, and, advancing with a great Shout, ran, without any Orders from their ſuperior Officers, towards their Tents. This put the *Barbarians* into a great Fright, *Epyaxa* quitted her Litter, the Sutlers of the Camp left their Goods and ran away, and the *Græcians* went to their Tents, laughing heartily. The Queen was ſtruck with Admiration at the Diſcipline of the Men; and the Glittering of their Armour and the Terror of the *Barbarians* adminiſtred no ſmall Pleaſure to *Cyrus*.

Hence in three Days he advances 20 Paraſangs to *Iconium*, the laſt City on the Frontiers of *Phrygia*. Here he halted three Days, and in five Encampments proceeded 30 Paraſangs through *Lycaonia*, and, being on no good Terms with this Country, he gave it up to be plundered by the

Græcians.

Gracians. At this Time *Cyrus* ſends off the Queen by the neareſt Way to *Cilicia*, under the Eſcorte of *Menon* and his Forces. The main Army under *Cyrus* in four Days advances 25 Paraſangs through *Cappadocia* to *Dana*, a populous, large and flouriſhing City. Here he put to Death *Megaphernes a Perſian*, (*l*) *Dyer of Purple to the King*, with a Nobleman of the firſt Rank, who were charged with treaſonable Deſigns againſt him.

Hence he endeavoured to penetrate into *Cilicia*, The Entrance into it is narrow, no more than one Cart being able to go a-Breaſt, and exceedingly ſteep, which renders a Paſſage through it for an Army impracticable, in Caſe of Oppoſition; and it was reported, that *Syenneſis* had ſecured the Eminences, and guarded the Avenues. This put him under a Neceſſity of halting in the Plain for one Day; but on the next, Advice was brought to the Camp, that *Syenneſis* had quitted his Poſt on the Hills, on Intelligence, that the Detachment under *Menon* was within the Mountains, and that the joint Fleets of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Cyrus* under *Tamus*, had ſet Sail from *Ionia* for *Cilicia*. *Cyrus*, without any Oppoſition, gained the Hills, where the Tents of the *Cilician* Guards were yet ſtanding. Proſecuting his March, he deſcended into

(*l*) The Skill of the *Perſians* in dying Purple was very extraordinary. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Alexander* relates, that at the taking of *Suſa*, there was found in the King's Wardrobe 5000 Talents worth of Purple, that had been laid up there for 190 Years, and that its Colour was no leſs lively than at the firſt, and its Luſtre as bright, as if it had come that Inſtant out of the Dye-Houſe. The preſent *Perſians* excel in this Art of dying *Purple*; and Travellers impute this Excellency to the Purity of the Air; but the Luſtre of the Colour is rather owing to the Water uſed in the Dying, and perhaps the Continuance of it to the Purity of the Air.

into the Plain, which was of a large Extent, and afforded a delightful Proſpect, was well watered, and abounded with Vines and Trees of all Kinds. It alſo produces plenty of Seſamus, Panick, Millet, Wheat and Barley; and is ſhut up by high Mountains, fortified by Nature, that take their Riſe at the Sea, and terminate again on the ſame Shore.

Having marched in four Encampments 25 Paraſangs through the Plain, he came to *Tarſus*, a large and flouriſhing City of *Cilicia*, where *Syenneſis*, King of the *Cilicians* kept his Court. The River *Cydnus* runs through the City, and is two Plethrons broad. All the Citizens, the Keepers of the publick Inns excepted, had retired with *Syenneſis* to a Place of great Strength on the Mountains; but the Inhabitants of *Iſſus* and *Solos*, two maritime Cities did not abandon their Dwellings. *Epyaxa*, Wife of *Syenneſis*, arrived at *Tarſus* five Days ſooner than *Cyrus*; but two Companies of the Detachment under *Menon*, were cut off in paſſing over the Mountains. It was reported that the *Cilicians* fell on them as they were roaming about for Plunder, that ſome of them were ſlain on the Spot, and thoſe who eſcaped from the *Cilicians*, being not able to find the main Body, or hit on the Road, wandered up and down, till they were ſtarved to Death. The whole Loſs amounted to an hundred Men. The Remainder of the Detachment, to revenge the Slaughter of their Companions, plundered the City and Palace. As ſoon as *Cyrus* had entered the City, he ſent for (*m*) *Syenneſis*, who returned him this Anſwer, that

(*m*) *Diodorus Siculus* gives us an Account of the cunning Part which *Syenneſis* acted in this critical Conjuncture, *viz.*

that he had never hitherto put his Perſon into the Hands of another more powerful than himſelf, nor would he at that Time venture to wait on him: But at laſt he was prevailed on by the Intreaties of the Queen, and received Hoſtages for his ſafe Return. *Syenneſis* preſented *Cyrus* with large Sums of Money for the Payment of his Army, and was complimented by him with ſuch Things as are eſteemed honourable among Princes, *viz.* a Horſe with a golden Bit, a Chain, Bracelets, a Scimitar of Gold, and a *Perſian* Robe: He alſo obtained an Immunity from all Hoſtilities, and Reſtitution of all his Subjects that had been made Captives.

Cyrus continued in this Place twenty Days, for the Army, being jealous that his Expedition was intended againſt the King, refuſed to proceed any further, inſiſting, that it was contrary to the Conditions on which they were hired. *Clearchus* at firſt made Uſe of Compulſion, but when he gave them Orders to march, they aſſaulted with Stones both him and his Carriage Beaſts. *Clearchus* narrowly eſcaped with his Life, and, finding that he had taken a falſe Step, in uſing violent Methods; he called an Aſſembly of his own Troops, and, having ſtood a conſiderable Time ſhedding Tears, amidſt a profound Silence and Admiration of his Soldiers, he at laſt began after this Manner.

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that being unable to reſiſt the *Forces* of *Cyrus*, he ſent a ſmall Party under the Command of one of his Sons to join him, and at the ſame Time, diſpatched another to *Artaxerxes* to adviſe him of the March of *Cyrus*, and to apologize for what he had done; aſſuring the King, that though he had been compelled by *Cyrus* to act in the Manner he had done, yet he was no leſs loyal to his Majeſty than before, and only wanted a proper Opportunity to give manifeſt Proofs of his Fidelity and Obedience.

My Fellow-Soldiers, let not my Concern a the preſent Poſture of my Affairs be Matter o Surpriſe to you; for, when my Country had paſſe a Decree of Exile againſt me, *Cyrus* entertaine me with great Hoſpitality, and I received from him, beſides other Favours, 10000 Darics. Thes I neither put into my Pocket, nor ſquandered a way on my Pleaſures, but freely ſpent them on you. And when the *Thracians* attempted to deprive *Greece* of her Footing in the *Cherroneſus*, with your Aſſiſtance I made War on them, avenged the Cauſe of *Greece*, and repelled the Invaders. But when *Cyrus* ſent for me, I went with you unto him, that I might, if it lay in my Power, make him ſome Return for the Favours I had received. But your preſent Refuſal to accompany him in his Expedition, reduces me to a fatal Neceſſity, either treacherouſly to deſert you, and rely on the Friendſhip of *Cyrus*, or baſely to deceive him, and adhere to you. I am at a Loſs to determine about the Juſtice of my Choice in this Affair, but my Reſolution is to give the Preference to you, and be a Sharer of your Fortune, whatever ſhall befal you; neither ſhall it ever be laid to my Charge, that, being choſen General of the *Grecians* againſt *Barbarians*, I deſerted my Poſt, and went over to *Barbarians*. And notwithſtanding that you deny Obedience to my Orders, and refuſe to follow your Leader, I ſhall not deſert you, but participate of your Fortune whatever it ſhall be. You are my Countrymen, and my Friends, and Companions in War; and I promiſe myſelf Honour and Eſteem in all Places on your Account; but if I am bereft of you, I judge myſelf to be utterly incapable, either to reward the good Offices of my Friends, or avenge the Injuries

juries of my Enemies. Be aſſured therefore, my Fellow Soldiers, that I will be your Companion wherever you go.

This was his Speech, and his Declaration, not to march againſt the Kings met with great Applauſe, not only from his own Soldiers, but alſo from all the *Græcians*; ſo that more than 2000 of the Troops of *Xenias* and *Paſion* went over to *Clearchus* with their Arms and all their Baggage. *Cyrus*, under great Diſcompoſure of Mind, and at a Loſs what to do, ſent for *Clearchus*; he openly refuſed to go to him, but ſent one of his Soldiers privately with this Meſſage, That their Behaviour ſhould not give him any Concern, for that every Thing ſhould terminate according to his Wiſh; that he ſhould ſend another Meſſenger for him, but that he would again refuſe to attend him. After this, calling his own Troops, with the Forces that had lately joined him to an Aſſembly, to which were admitted all ſuch as were deſirous of hearing what he would ſay, he addreſſed them in this Manner.

My Fellow Soldiers, it is now very obvious, that *Cyrus* and we, in Reſpect to the State of Affairs between us, are upon the ſame Footing; for as our Refuſal to follow him releaſes us from his Service, ſo it diſengages him from any Obligation to give us Pay. I have refuſed to attend him according to his Summons, being well aſſured, he is of Opinion, that we have acted injuriouſly towards him, and being no leſs aſhamed, and conſcious to myſelf, that I have baſely deceived his Expectations; and I was moreover under no ſmall Apprehenſion, that, if I put myſelf in his Power, he might inflict on me ſuch Puniſhments, as he thinks adequate to his Injuries. We are not then

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regardleſs of our Safety, to trifle away the Time in Lazineſs and Sleeping, but to conſider what Meaſures we ſhall henceforward purſue: And, whether the Reſult of our Counſels be to ſtay here or return home, it is my Opinion, that we take into Conſideration, how to put our Reſolves in Execution with the leaſt Danger; and by what Means we may furniſh ourſelves with Proviſions, of which, if we are in Want; neither Officer, nor Soldier, will any thing avail. I would alſo put you in Mind, that as *Cyrus* is a very worthy Friend, ſo he is an Enemy no leſs terrible; for we are all Witneſſes, that he is well provided both with Sea and Land Forces, and his Camp is at no great Diſtance from us; ſo that the Time urges, that thoſe that are capable of giving the beſt Advice, immediately declare it to the Aſſembly.

After this Harangue *Clearchus* ſat down, and ſome ſpontaneouſly aroſe, and freely delivered their Opinions: But others, inſtructed by *Clearchus*, laid before the Aſſembly the Danger, conſequent either of the Stay or Departure, contrary to the Inclination of *Cyrus*. One under a pretended Zeal for a ſpeedy Return into *Greece*, propoſed an immediate Election of new Generals, if *Clearchus* ſhould refuſe to lead them home. That they ſhould furniſh themſelves with Proviſions from the Market in the *Barbarian* Camp, and pack up their Baggage. That they ſhould addreſs *Cyrus* for Shipping to tranſport them into *Greece*, and in Caſe of a Denial, that they ſhould requeſt from him a Guide, to conduct them through thoſe Countries, that are in Alliance with him, and if he refuſed to grant them a Guide, they ſhould immediately repair to their Arms, and detach a Party to ſeize on the Streights, leſt they ſhould

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be prevented by *Cyrus*, or the *Cilicians*, whoſe Country they had miſerably plundered, and of whom many were Priſoners in the Camp. To this *Clearchus* made this ſhort Reply. Let no one propoſe, that I ſhould take upon me the Command of the Army, for I have many Things to plead in my Excuſe, but on whom your Election ſhall fall, to him will I pay all Obedience poſſible, that you may ſee, I can ſubmit to the Commands of a Superior as well as another Man. After him another aroſe, and laid open the Folly of the former Speech, alledging, that it was abſurd to ſollicit *Cyrus* for Ships, as if he had no further Service to employ them in; and that it was no leſs ridiculous to imagine, that he would grant a Guide to them, that are ſo inſtrumental in defeating his Deſigns. But if we are reſolved, ſays he, to place any Confidence in ſuch a Guide, as we ſhall receive from him, what hinders us from addreſſing him to ſecure the Streights for us? For my Part I ſhould be very loth to embark in Ships belonging to him, leaſt he might give private Orders to ſink both them and us to the Bottom of the Sea. Nor ſhould I be free from all Apprehenſion of his Guide, leſt he might lead us from whence it were impoſſible to extricate ourſelves. Of the ſeveral Expedients propoſed, I indeed prefer a ſecret Departure; but as there is not the leaſt Poſſibility of effecting that I cannot but conclude, that all theſe Projects are trifling and chimerical.

I think it therefore adviſeable to ſend proper Deputies with *Clearchus* to expoſtulate with *Cyrus*, that he would communicate to us the Expedition, wherein he intends to employ us; and to repreſent to him, that, if *Grecians* ever ſerved in an Expe-

dition of the ſame Nature, we are ready to follow him, and make it appear, that we are in no wiſe inferior to his former Mercenaries. But if we are to go on greater Occaſions, wherein we ſhall be expoſed to more Fatigues and Dangers, that we importune him to lay before us ſuch Reaſons, as may induce us to follow him, or that on the Contrary, being convinced by our Arguments, he may diſcharge us from his Service in a friendly Manner; for by theſe Means we ſhall either follow him with greater Alacrity, or quit his Service without Danger to ourſelves. I would alſo adviſe, that his Anſwer be reported to us while we are here aſſembled, and that we immediately take it under Conſideration. Theſe Propoſals were unanimouſly approved, and Deputies were ſent with *Clearchus* to repreſent to *Cyrus* the Reſolution of the Army. To this *Cyrus* anſwered, That his Deſign was againſt *Abrocomas*, his inveterate Enemy, who lay on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, about 12 Encampments diſtant from him; and added he, if he offers to ſtand his Ground, I purpoſe to avenge myſelf for the Injuries I have received from him; but if he betakes himſelf to Flight, we will then conſult together, what future Meaſures to take. This Anſwer the Deputies reported to the Army; and the Soldiers immediately paſſed a Decree to follow *Cyrus*, although they had a ſtrong Suſpicion, that his March was intended againſt the King. They alſo demand an Addition to their Pay, which *Cyrus* promiſes to augment, and give each private Man a Daric and a half a Month, whereas their preſent Pay was a Daric only. And from this Time, there were no publick Murmurings to march againſt the King.

Proceeding

Proceeding on, he marches 10 Paraſangs in two Days, to the (n) *Pſarus*, a River three Plethrons broad, and in one Day more advances five Paraſangs to the River *Pyramus*, which is a Furlong broad. Hence he advances in two Encampments fifteen Paraſangs, and reaches *Iſſus*, a populous, large and flouriſhing City on the Sea Coaſt, and the laſt on the Frontiers of *Cilicia*. Here he halted three Days, and *Pythagoras* of *Lacedæmon* arrived with 36 Ships from the *Peloponneſus*; but *Tamos* an *Egyptian* had acted as Admiral ſince their ſetting out from *Epheſus*. He had alſo under his Command the Fleet of *Cyrus*, conſiſting of 25 Sail, with which he had blocked up the Harbour of *Miletus*, when that City was in the Intereſt of *Tiſſaphernes*, and beſieged by *Cyrus*. *Chiriſophus* alſo of *Lacedæmon* at the Invitation of *Cyrus*, came in this Fleet with 700 heavy armed Men, which he commanded in the enſuing Expedition. The Fleet had its Station not far from the Tent of *Cyrus*. At this Time 400 mercenary *Grecians* deſerted the Army of *Abrocomas*, and, joining the Forces of *Cyrus*, ſerved in this Expedition againſt the King.

Hence in one Day he advances five Paraſangs to the (o) Gates of *Cilicia* and *Syria*. They are fortified with two Walls, one of which lies within the Streights towards *Cilicia*, and was guarded by the Forces of *Syenneſis*; the other lies without the

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(n) This River is in ſome Editions called *Pharus*, but that the true reading is *Pſarus*, appears from *Pliny*, who gives it the Name of *Sarus*.

(o) Theſe Gates are variouſly called by Authors, *Portæ Amani*, *Pylæ Amanicæ*, and *Amanides*; *Polybius* calls them *Menidæ*, but this perhaps is the Error of the Tranſcribers, who have omitted the Letter A.

the Streights towards *Syria*, and, by Report, was guarded by ſome of the King's Troops. Between the Walls runs the River *Carſus*, which is a Plethron broad; and the whole intermediate Space of the Walls is no more than three Furlongs. To force a Paſſage was impoſſible, for the Entrance was narrow, and the Fortifications were extended to the Sea. The Mountains that hung over were inacceſſible, and in each of the Walls was placed a Gate. In order to attempt a Paſſage by Force, *Cyrus* ordered the Fleet to land ſome heavy armed Troops within the Walls, and others without the Streights in *Syria*; for he imagined that *Abrocomas* who had under his Command a powerful Army, had ſecured that Gate. But *Abrocomas*, hearing that *Cyrus* was already advanced as far as *Cilicia*, had left no Guard at the Gate, but poſted from *Phœnicia* to join the King, as it was reported, with 300000 Men.

Hence in one Day, he marches five Paraſangs thro' *Syria* to *Myriandrus*, a City on the Sea Coaſt, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*. It was a famous Mart-Town, and many Merchant Ships were in the Harbour. Here the Army continued ſeven Days, and *Xenias* of *Arcadia*, one of the Generals, and *Paſion* of *Megara*, putting all their valuable Effects on Board one of the Ships, quitted the Army through Diſcontent, as was generally believed, that *Clearchus* by Permiſſion from *Cyrus*, retained the Command of their Troops that had gone over to him, with a View of returning to *Greece*, and proceeding no further againſt the King. It was rumoured through the Camp, that *Cyrus* had ſent ſome Gallies in Purſuit after them, and ſome wiſhed that they might be taken and ſuffer for their Treachery; others again commiſera-

ted

ted their Caſe if they ſhould be overtaken. But *Cyrus*, calling a Council of the Generals, made the following Speech. *Xenias* and *Paſion* have deſerted our Service; but let them be aſſured, that their Flight is no Secret, for I know where they are; neither are they out of my Reach, for my Gallies can overtake them. But I ſwear by the Gods I ſhall not ſend after them, neither ſhall it be laid to my Charge, that I employ Troops in my Service, but ungenerouſly requite them, and ſtrip them of their Wealth when they deſire a Diſcharge. But let them take their Courſe, and be aſſured, that they have treated me more injuriouſly, than I have treated them; and, in Conſideration of their former Services, I ſhall take Care to ſend them their Wives and Children, that are under my Protection at *Tralles*. This was his Speech, and even thoſe *Grecians* that were moſt averſe to the Aſcent, hearing his Generoſity, followed him with greater Alacrity and Promptitude.

After this he marches 23 Paraſangs in four Encampments to the River *Chalos*: It is a Plethron broad, and abounds with large tame (*p*) Fiſhes, which the *Syrians* place in the Number of their Gods, and abſtain from offering any Violence either to them or Pigeons. The Villages, in which they

(*p*) The *Syrians* feign that *Derceto* having been got with Child, was aſhamed of the Crime whereof ſhe had been guilty, and to conceal, if poſſible, her Guilt, expoſed the new born Infant among the Rocks, and caſt herſelf headlong into a Lake. They moreover relate that ſhe was afterwards transformed into a Fiſh, and that the Infant was fed by Pigeons, and from this wonderful act of Providence ſhe was called *Semiramis*, which in the *Syrian* Language ſignifies a Pigeon. And on this Account they pay divine Adoration to Fiſhes and Doves. *Diod. Sic.* gives a compleat Narration of this in the firſt Chap. of his ſecond Book.

they took up their Quarters, were aſſigned by the King to (q) *Paryſatis* for the Maintenance of her Table. Hence in five Days he proceeds 30 Paraſangs to the Head of the *Daradacus*, which is a Plethron broad. In this Place was a Palace of *Beleſis*, formerly King of *Syria*, with a large beautiful Park, well furniſhed with Fruits of all Kinds, at the various Seaſons of the Year. *Cyrus* cut down all the Trees, and ſet Fire to the Palace. Hence in three Days he marches fifteen Paraſangs to *Thapſacus*, a large and flouriſhing City, on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, which is at this Place four Furlongs broad. Here the Army halted five Days, and *Cyrus* having ordered the *Grecian* Generals to attend him, openly declared, that he intended to march to *Babylon*, againſt the Great King, and deſired, that they would make his Deſign known to their Troops, and uſe their Endeavours to prevail on them to follow him. When this was declared in a full Aſſembly of the Army, the Soldiers

(q) It was uſual for the Kings of *Perſia* to aſſign Cities, and ſometimes large Countries for the Maintenance of their Queens. Sometimes their Favourite Courtiers were diſtinguiſhed in this Manner; and we have in Hiſtory Inſtances of this Kind, where large Territoties have been aſſigned for the Maintenance of a beloved Horſe or Elephant. *Plato* in his firſt *Alcibiades* puts a memorable Diſcourſe on this Subject, in the Mouth of *Socrates*. That great Philoſopher, to abate the Pride of *Alcibiades*, who was puffed up with his large Poſſeſſions, tells him he had no Reaſon to value himſelf for his Riches; for that he had heard an Ambaſſador that had been ſent to the King of *Perſia*, affirm, that he had travelled a great Way through a very pleaſant and fertile Country, which was called the Queen's Girdle. And that he had travelled through another Country, not inferior in Extent or Pleaſantneſs to the former, which was called the Queen's Veil. And that many other Parts were deſtined for ſupplying her Wardrobe, and that thoſe Parts took their Name from the Cloaths they were to provide.

Soldiers were incenſed againſt their Officers, and told them, that they had been let into the Bottom of the Deſign at the Beginning, but had induſtriouſly kept it concealed from them, and declared, that they would not proceed one Step, unleſs they had the ſame Pay with thoſe Troops, that had gone up with *Cyrus* formerly; for that their Pay was greater, though his Father had ſent for him, and they were not to run the Hazard of engaging with an Enemy. The Officers waited with this Anſwer on *Cyrus*, who promiſed to give each private Soldier, immediately on his Arrival at *Babylon*, five (*r*) *Minæ* of Silver, and his full Pay till his Return into *Ionia*. Theſe Motives prevailed on a great Part of the Army; but while the other *Grecians* were yet undetermined, whether to proceed with *Cyrus* or not; *Menon* aſſembled his own Troops ſeparately, and addreſſed them in this Manner. If you will follow my Advice, O Men, you ſhall, without the leaſt Danger, or Trouble, gain the Eſteem of *Cyrus*, in a greater Degree than the reſt of the Army. What then would I have you do? *Cyrus* is very urgent with the *Grecians* to march againſt the King. I therefore would adviſe you to paſs the *Euphrates*, before it can be known, what Reſolution the *Grecians* will come to in this Affair. For ſhould they paſs a Decree to follow *Cyrus*, it will be thought that your Paſſage over the River influenced their Councils; and your Zeal will not only be commended, but alſo be amply rewarded by *Cyrus*; than whom no Man better knows how to be grateful. But, ſhould the other

(*r*) *A Mina* contained 100 *Attic* Drachms, and is worth of *Engliſh* Money 3 *l* 11 *s.* 7 *d.* Diod. Sic. relates that he promiſed one Mina only to each Man.

ther *Grecians* paſs a Decree to the contrary Effect, we may then return to our former Station; and this Inſtance of your Obedience, and moſt entire Fidelity, will engage him to prefer you to the Command of his Garriſons and Troops, and to befriend you in whatever elſe you deſire. This Advice prevailed on them, and they paſſed the River before the reſt of the *Grecians* had returned an Anſwer to *Cyrus*; to whom this adminiſtred no ſmall Pleaſure, and he ſent them this Meſſage by *Glous*; I commend you, O valiant Soldiers, for what you have done, and I ſhall take Care, while my Name is *Cyrus*, to merit your Eſteem and Commendation. The Soldiers at this were elated with great Hopes, and wiſhed him good Succeſs in his Deſigns. It was alſo reported that *Menon* received very valuable Preſents from him.

Immediately after this he forded the River, the whole Army following him, and the Water reached not above the Breaſts of the Soldiers. The Inhabitants of *Thapſacus* aſſured him, that the River had never been forded till that Time; and that *Abrocomas*, to obſtruct his Paſſage, had ſet Fire to all the Shipping. This Paſſage was interpreted to be ſomewhat (*s*) miraculous, and that the River kept back its Waters, in acknowledgement

(*s*) When Man is bent on any great Enterprize, his Hopes and Fears make him imagine, that nothing uncommon can happen in Nature, but that it is intended by Providence as a Preſage of his good or ill Succeſs. Nay ſo great is his Credulity, that even the moſt oppoſite Accidents are interpreted after the ſame Manner. Thus we ſee the Fording of the *Euphrates* deemed miraculous, and interpreted in Favour of the Deſigns of *Cyrus*. And afterwards when *Vitellius* went to reinſtate *Tiridates* on the Throne of *Parthia*, the ſwelling of the *Euphrates* was interpreted as a propitious Type of Succeſs.

ment of the Sovereignty of *Cyrus*. Hence in nine Days he marched fifty Paraſangs through *Syria* to the *Araxes*. On the Banks of this River were many Villages, wherein were Stores of Wine and Corn. Here the Army continued five Days, and furniſhed themſelves with Grain. Hence he takes his Rout through the Deſerts of *Arabia*, keeping the *Euphrates* on his Right-hand, and in five Days advances 35 Paraſangs. The whole Country was Level as the Sea, and over-run with Wormwood, and all the Shrubs and Reeds of any Kind had the Fragrance of *Aromaticks*. Here were Aſſes in abundance, and not a few Oſtriches of a large Size, beſides wild Goats, and a Species of Birds called the Otis. The Horſe ſometimes gave Chace to theſe wild Beaſts, and (*t*) the Aſſes, when they were purſued, outſtripping the Hunters, ſtood ſtill, and when the Horſe approached near them, they ran off and ſtood as before; ſo that there was no Poſſibility of taking them, otherwiſe than by placing ſeveral Horſe at a Diſtance from each other, and when one was tired, another took up the Chace. The Difference of Taſte between them and Veniſon was ſmall, except that their Fleſh was more ten-

(*t*) The Swiftneſs of the wild Aſs is moſt ſublimely deſcribed in the 39th Chap. of *Job*. nothing can be expreſſed with more Grandeur, nor is it in the Power of Words to give a ſtronger Idea of Swiftneſs. ‘ Who hath ſent out the wild Aſs ‘ free? Or who hath looſed the Bands of the wild Aſs? He ‘ ſcorneth the Multitude of the City, neither regardeth he the ‘ Crying of the Driver. I choſe to inſtance this, to ſhow that as the Scriptures excel in the Spirit of Poetry, ſo they are moſt agreeable to Truth, and the Relations of prophane Writers.

der. The Horſe could not take any of the (*u*) Oſtriches, but were ſoon tired of a Purſuit after them; for making Uſe of their Feet for running, and ſpreading their Wings like Sails, they were ſoon out of Sight of their Purſuers. (*w*) The Otis takes ſhort Flights like the Partridge, and is eaſily taken, if you allow it no time to reſt. The Fleſh of it is of exceeding Sweetneſs.

Continuing his March, he reaches *Corſote*, a large City, lying in the Middle of the Deſerts. The River *Maſcas* ſurrounded the Walls, and was a Plethron broad. Here he ſpent three Days in providing Grain for the Army. Proceeding on thirteen Days more through the Deſert with the *Euphrates* on the Right-hand, he advances 90 Paraſangs to *Pylæ*. In paſſing theſe Deſerts, he loſt all

(*u*) The Sublimity of the ſacred Writings is beſt diſcerned from parallel Compariſons drawn from the heathen Authors. Thus the Deſcription of the Horſe in *Job*, vaſtly excels any Deſcription of the Horſe in the *Greek* or *Latin* Claſſicks. And this Deſcription of the Swiftneſs of the Oſtrich, and all other Deſcriptions of the Antients fall infinitely ſhort of that which we meet with in the abovementioned ſacred Writer. What can ſurpaſs this in Grandeur? 'What Time ſhe 'lifteth herſelf up on high, ſhe ſcorneth the Horſe and the 'Rider. This Expreſſion of lifting herſelf up on high, greatly ſurpaſſes ſpreading her Wings like Sails, and ſcorning the Horſe and the Rider, as far ſurpaſſes outſtripping the Hunters, as (to uſe Dr. *Patrick*'s Words) Thunder doth a Whiſper. Indeed we may ſay this in Behalf *Xenophon*, that he is an Hiſtorian, but the Deſcriptions of Hiſtorians are generally Poetical.

(*w*) This Bird was ſo called from its long Ears, or from its quick Hearing. The *Greek* and *Latin* Authors write that it flies very ſlow, and but a ſhort Way, becauſe of the Weight of its Body. But the Eaſtern Writers affirm that it has a very ſtrong Flight, and that it is found at a prodigious Diſtance from the Parts where it feeds, with its Meat undigeſted. *Pliny* alſo writes that it imitates the Voice of other Birds.

all the Carriage Beaſts by Famine, for there was neither Graſs nor Tree to be ſeen, but the whole Country was bare of Vegetables, The Inhabitants ſupplied themſelves with Corn in exchange for Mill-ſtones, which they found near the River, and carried to *Babylon*. The Army had conſumed all their Corn, and there was none to be bought but from the *Lydians*, who kept a Market in the Camp of the Barbarians under *Cyrus*. The Price of a *Capitha* of Meal or Flower was four *Shekels*, and a *Shekel* is in value an (*x*) *Obolus*, and half of an *Obolus*; and a *Capitha* contains two *Attick Chœnixes*. On this Account the Soldiers were conſtrained to feed entirely on Fleſh. Some of theſe Marches were very long at ſuch Times as *Cyrus* had a mind to reach a Place, where was either Water or Forage: And when the Roads were ſo deep or narrow, that the Carriages were drawn with great Difficulty, *Cyrus* with his Courtiers, and the chief Officers of his Retinue halted, and gave Orders to *Glous* and *Pigres*, to take ſome of the *Barbarian* Soldiers, and help forward the Carriages; and, if they ſeemed to him not to make quick Diſpatch, he, in an angry Tone, commanded even the beſt of the *Perſian* Nobility, to aſſiſt in helping forward the Waggons. And here one might ſee an Inſtance of good Diſcipline, for throwing off their purple *Candys* at Random, and running down a ſteep Hill, they leaped into the Mire, with their rich Coats, and Breeches of various Colours, their Arms alſo and Necks being adorned with fine Chains and Bracelets,

(*x*) The Obolus was worth 1 *d.* 1 *q.* 1-6, and the *Chœnix* contained one Pint and an half *Engliſh* Meaſure. The Capitha ſeems to be the ſame with the *Hebrew* Cab.

lets, and carried out the Waggons on their Shoulders, ſooner than one could have imagined. It was eaſily diſcerned that *Cyrus* uſed all imaginable Celerity in the whole Aſcent, for he never made any Halts, but when he was in want of Forage, or conſtrained by ſome other abſolute Neceſſity, apprehending, that by a quick March he ſhould find the King leſs prepared to oppoſe him, and that by a Delay he ſhould give him Time to aſſemble greater Forces together. For it is obvious even to a mean Underſtanding, that as the King's Strength conſiſted in the vaſt Extent of his Empire, and the Multitude of his Subjects; yet, as his Forces were diſperſed through ſeveral Provinces, and they muſt march a long Way to join in a Body, he was unable to make a ſtrong Effort againſt a ſudden Attack.

Oppoſite to this waſte Country on the other Side of the *Euphrates*, lay a large and flouriſhing City called *Carmanda*. There the Soldiers bought Proviſions, croſſing the River in this Manner. The Skins that covered their Tents, they ſtuffed with Hay and ſewed the Seams cloſe, ſo as to keep out the Water. On theſe they croſſed the River, and furniſhed themſelves with ſuch Neceſſaries, as they wanted, as Wine of the *Phœnician* Palm, and Bread made of Millet, which the Natives for the moſt Part uſed. *Clearchus* perceiving ſome of his Men engaged in a Squabble with ſome of *Menon*'s Soldiers, thought the latter to be in the Wrong, and ſtruck one of them. The Soldier made Complaints of it to his Comerades, who took it very heinouſly, and were greatly incenſed againſt *Clearchus*. The ſame Day *Clearchus* having been to view the Market on the other Side of the River, took *Menon*'s Quarters in his way back, attended with

with a ſmall Guard. *Cyrus* was at the ſame Time returning to the Camp, but behind *Clearchus*. One of *Menon*'s Soldiers, ſpying *Clearchus*, threw at him a Hatcher, with which he was cleaving Wood; but narrowly miſſed his Aim. This occaſioned a great Uproar, and many of the Soldiers aſſaulted him with Stones. *Clearchus* fled for Shelter to his own Quarters, and commanded all his Forces to Arms. The heavy armed Troops he ordered to remain in the Camp under Arms, and taking the *Thracian* Targeteers, and about 40 Horſe (that were moſtly *Thracians*) he galloped full ſpeed to *Menon*'s Quarters. This ſtruck a Terror not only into the Men, but alſo *Menon*, and they ran to their Arms; but ſome at a Loſs how to behave, ſtood motionleſs. *Proxenus* with a Party of heavy armed Troops, accidentally came that Way, and, ruſhing in between the two Parties, laid down his Arms, and entreated *Clearchus* not to proceed in that Manner; but he took it very ill, that *Proxenus* ſhould entreat him to moderate his Paſſion, when he had been in ſuch imminent Danger of his Life; and deſired him to go about his Buſineſs. In this Inſtant *Cyrus* came up, and, being informed of the Affair, took a Spear in his Hand, and with a great Part of his Guard, ruſhing into the Midſt of them, ſpoke thus. *Clearchus*, *Proxenus*, and the reſt of you *Gracians*, you are all inſenſible of the Miſchief you are doing; for be aſſured, that if you fall out with one another, you ſhall this Day, firſt hack me in Pieces, and your ſelves will ſoon after meet with the ſame Fate; for ſhould our Affairs take an ill Turn; all thoſe *Barbarians*, that are before your Eyes, will prove more bitter Enemies to you, than thoſe that are with the King. This brought

Clearchus

Clearchus to a Senſe of his Raſhneſs, and both Parties, being ſatisfied, laid down their Arms on the Spot.

As they marched on, they obſerved the Dust and Tracks of Horſes, and conjectured that might be a Body of about 2000 Horſe. These ſcouring the Country, burned up all the Forage and whatever could be of Uſe to the Army. *Orontes* a *Perſian* of the Blood Royal, and eſteemed one of the beſt Soldiers in *Perſia*, at this Time forms a Deſign againſt *Cyrus*. They had been formerly profeſſed Enemies; but, being now reconciled to each other, *Orontes* told him, that, if he would give him the Command of a 1000 Horſe, he would, by ſome Stratagem or other, either cut off, or take Priſoners a great Part of that Body or at leaſt prevent them from deſtroying the Country by Fire, or carrying to the King any Intelligence of his Forces. *Cyrus* judging that this could not but be of Advantage to him, gave him Orders to make a Draught of his Number out of the ſeveral Diviſions of the Army. *Orontes*, imagining that this Body of Cavalry would be devoted entirely to himſelf, writes a Letter to the King, intimating, that he would go over to him with as many Horſe as he could prevail on to follow him, and that he ſhould give Orders to his Troops to receive him as a Friend. This Letter, full of Expreſſions of his former Fidelity and Friendſhip, he delivered to a Meſſenger, on whom, as he thought, he might ſafely rely. The Meſſenger immediately carries it to *Cyrus*, who, having read it, gives Orders to apprehend *Orontes*, and ſends for ſeven of the moſt noble *Perſians* in the Army to attend him. He alſo ordered the *Grecian* Generals, to place a Guard of heavy-armed

Troops before the Tent: They obeyed his Orders, and went to him with 3000 heavy-armed Men. *Clearchus*, who was in greater Eſteem with him than any of the other Generals, was admitted to the Council. When he came out of the Tent, he acquainted his Friends with the whole Trial of *Orontes*, which was not enjoined to be kept Secret; and he ſaid, that *Cyrus* ſpoke after the following Manner. I have ſent for you, my Friends, to aſſiſt me with your Advice, that I may deal with this *Orontes*, in ſuch a Manner, as ſhall appear to be moſt juſt in the Sight of the Gods and Men. This Man was given me by my Father, to be one of my Subjects; but he afterwards ſeized on the Citadel of *Sardis*, by the Orders of my Brother, as he pretended, and declared War againſt me; but I reduced him to the Neceſſity of ſuing for a Peace, and we enterchanged our Right-Hands. Then he addreſſed *Orontes* thus: Have I *Orontes*, ſince that Time injured you in any Reſpect? He replyed in none. Then *Cyrus* interrogated him again. Though I never offered you any Injury, by your Confeſſion, did you not revolt to the *Myſians*, and by all poſſible Means infeſt my Territories? This *Orontes* confeſſed. *Cyrus* went on. And when you became ſenſible of your Weakneſs, did you not fly for Refuge to the Altar of *Diana*, and, having by your Repentance prevailed on me, did we not mutually give and receive Pledges of our Reconciliation? This alſo *Orontes* confeſſed. What freſh Injury then, ſaid *Cyrus*, have you now received, that you are caught in treacherous Deſigns againſt me? *Orontes* replyed, that he had received no Injury. Can you then deny, ſaid *Cyrus*, that your Behaviour hath been very injurious towards me?

Orontes

Orontes anſwered he could not deny it. Are you willing then, ſaid *Cyrus*, for the future to be an Enemy to my Brother, and maintain a Friendſhip and Fidelity to me? *Orontes* anſwered, were my Fidelity ever ſo ſincere, yet it would not be free from Suſpicion. Then *Cyrus* ſpoke to the Council. This hath been the Behaviour of the Man, and this is his Defence; and do you, O *Clearchus*, firſt deliver your Sentiments of him. *Clearchus* returned, I am of Opinion, that you immediately rid your ſelf of this Man, that we may not lie under the Neceſſity of keeping a Watch over him, but be at full Liberty, in reſpect to him, to ſerve our Friends. The whole Council, he ſaid, concurred in this Opinion, and all of them, his Relations not excepted, roſe up at the Order of *Cyrus*, and, ſeizing him by the (*y*) *Belt*, paſſed the Sentence of Death on him. Then he was delivered to thoſe, who had the Care of his Execution, and led out of the Tent, and as he paſſed by, thoſe, that had formerly a Dependance on him, paid him the uſual Homage and Obeyſance; though they ſaw him leading to his Execution. After this he was carried into the Tent of *Artapatas*, a Scepter-Bearer of moſt approved Fidelity to

(*y*) This was the *Perſian* Manner of paſſing Sentence on Criminals. *Diod. Sic.* in the 3d Chap. of his 17th Book writes, that *Darius* being offended with *Charidemus* for his great Freedom of Speech, ordered him to be bound with a Belt, and delivered to the Guard to be put to Death. But I am rather of Opinion with *Xenophon*, that the Judges put their Hands to the Belt of the Criminal to give their Opinion, and declare their Concurrence to the Sentence paſſed on him. For in this Place all the Council, his Relations, not excepted, took hold of his Belt: And for what End ſhould ſo many ſeize him by the Belt, certainly not to ſecure him, but to manifeſt their Opinion of the Juſtice of his Sentence?

to *Cyrus*, and from that Time neither *Orontes*, nor his Corps, were ever ſeen; nor did any from their own Knowledge ſpeak of the Manner of his Death, though there were various Conjectures about it: neither was the Place of his Interment ever known.

Hence in three Encampments, he advances 12 Paraſangs through the Province of *Babylon*, and in the laſt Encampment about Midnight, he reviews the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* in the Plain, it being generally believed, there would be a Battle the next Morning. The Command of the Right-Wing he gave to *Clearchus*, and of the Left to *Menon*, and placed himſelf at the Head of his own Troops. After the Review at Break of Day, Deſerters came to the Camp with Intelligence of the Great King's Army; and *Cyrus* calling a Council of the *Grecian* Officers, conſulted with them concerning the Diſpoſition of the future Engagement, and then exhorted them in this Manner. Men of *Greece*, I invite you not to my Aſſiſtance from a want of Troops, but from the Preference, which you hold in my Eſteem, to Multitudes of *Barbarians*; acquit yourſelves, therefore, like Men, and as worthy of the Liberty you enjoy, and for which I pronounce you happy; for be aſſured, that I would prefer a (z) Life of Liber-

F ty

(z) How forcibly *Cyrus* engages the Reader on his Side? And what a noble Opinion muſt we entertain of this young Prince, when we hear him, who was inſtructed in the Arts and Manners of Tyranny, and even then in Purſuit of abſolute Monarchy become an Advocate in the Cauſe of Liberty, and give a Teſtimony ſo advantagious to it? And what a glorious Idea muſt we conceive of Liberty, when we hear this Prince, Lord of great Dominions, prefer Liberty to them all, and a Life of Freedom to immenſe Treaſures?

ty to all the Treaſures I poſſeſs, even though they were infinitely greater than they are. And here I ſhall take Occaſion to lay before you the Nature of the Conteſt, wherein you are to engage: Your Enemies, it muſt be acknowledged, are very numerous, and they begin their Onſets with great Shouts; but if you can ſuſtain the Shock of Noiſe, and a Multitude, you will Experience, what I am aſhamed to mention, what an effeminate Race of Men are Maſters of this Country. If you diſtinguiſh yourſelves like brave and valiant Soldiers, and are afterwards deſirous of returning to your native Country; I will diſmiſs you loaden with Honours, and make you the Envy of your Fellow Citizens; but, if I flatter not myſelf, my Demeanour toward you, ſhall induce the greateſt Part of you to forego *Greece*, and participate of my good Fortune. Then *Gaulites*, an Exile of *Samos*, and a firm Friend to *Cyrus*, ſpoke thus, There are not wanting ſome, O *Cyrus*, who intimate, that all theſe Promiſes are but the Effects of the dangerous Poſture of your Affairs, and that they will be buried in Oblivion, when you have compaſſed your Deſigns. Others again are of Opinion, that though you ſhould neither forget, nor want an Inclination to perform your Promiſes, yet you will never have the Ability to make them good. *Cyrus*, in anſwer to this, replied. The hereditary Dominions of my Father are of ſuch vaſt Extent toward the South, that the ſcorching Heats have rendered them a Deſart, and toward the North they are uninhabitable from the exceſſive Cold. All the Provinces lying between the extremes, are divided into Satrapies, and by my Brother beſtowed on his Friends. But if the Gods ſhall crown our Arms with Victory, I ſhall think myſelf

myſelf obliged to give the Government of theſe Provinces to you, that are our Friends. So that I do not ſo much doubt of my Ability to recompence my Friends, as fear I ſhall not find a competent Number of Friends to confer Favours on. And as for you, O *Gracians*, I will beſtow a Crown of Gold on each of you. This Speech animated thoſe that were preſent, and it ſoon ſpread through the whole Army. And another Body of *Gracians*, with their Officers, having obtained Acceſs to *Cyrus*, demanded what Recompence they might expect, if they defeated the Enemy; and theſe alſo went away fully ſatisfied with his Anſwer. Thoſe who had the Liberty of diſcourſing with him, adviſed him not to hazard his Perſon in the Fight, but keep in the Rear free from Danger. *Clearchus* alſo at this Time asked *Cyrus*, if he thought that his Brother would be preſent in the Battle. Truly, ſays he, if he is the Son of *Darius* and *Pariſatis* and my Brother, he will not tamely reſign his Crown. And at this Place all the *Gracians* that bore Arms, amounted to 10400 heavy armed Men, and 2500 Targeteers. The Number of his *Barbarian* Soldiers was an 100000, and of ſcythed Chariots 20. The Enemy by report, were no leſs than 1200000 Men, 200 ſcythed Chariots, and a Body of 6000 Horſe under the Command of *Artagerſes*, which always attended on the Perſon of the King. This Army was compoſed of four Diviſions, each conſiſting of 300000 Men, under the Command of four principal Officers, Commanders and Leaders, *Abrocomas*, *Tiſſapherne*s, *Gobryas* and *Arbaces*, but no more than 900000 of theſe Troops, and 150 ſcythed Chariots were preſent at the Engagement; for *Abrocomas* arrived from *Phœnicia* five Days after the Fight. This

Intelligence

Intelligence *Cyrus* received from Deſerters before the Battle, and after it, the ſame was confirmed by the Priſoners.

Hence he advances three Paraſangs in one Day, the whole Army, both *Græcians* and *Barbarians* expecting an Attack from the Enemy, were drawn up in Order of Battle. In the Middle of this Day's March, they came to a Trench five Fathoms wide, and three deep. This Trench was cut croſs the Plain for 12 Paraſangs, as far as the Wall of *Media*. Here the River *Tigris* is cut into Canals for the more convenient Carriage of Corn by Water. There are four of theſe Canals cut very deep, and an 100 foot wide; they lie at the Diſtance of a Paraſang from each other, have Bridges laid over them, and empty themſelves into the *Euphrates*. There was a narrow Paſſage, no more than twenty Foot wide, between the River and the Trench, which the great King had caſt up as a Defence, when he firſt received Intelligence, that *Cyrus* was ſet out on his March againſt him. The whole Army marched through this Streight, and arrived within the Trench. Here they could eaſily diſcern the Tracks of Men and Horſes that had retreated that Way; but no Engagement happened on this Day. Then *Cyrus* ſent for *Silanus*, a Diviner of *Ambracia*, and gave him 3000 *Daries* on this Account. Having conſulted the Sacrifices eleven Days before, *Silanus* aſſured him, that there would be no Engagement within ten Days; and to this *Cyrus* replyed, unleſs the King venture a Battle within that Time, he will never Fight; and, if your Predictions prove true, I promiſe to give you 10 Talents: And, the 10 Days being now expired, he gave him that Sum.

Having

Having paſſed the Trench without any Oppoſition, *Cyrus* and all the Officers were of Opinion, that the King had laid aſide all Thoughts of deciding this Affair by the Sword, ſo that the next Day they marched with more Careleſſneſs, and on the third Day, he rode in his Chariot, a very ſmall Guard marching before him. The Servants of the Camp were intermingled with the Soldiers, the greater Part of whom were without Arms, having tied them either on the Carts, or the Carriage Beaſts. They were not far from the Place pitched on for their Encampment, and it was the Time of full Market, when *Patagyas*, a *Perſian*, of ſingular Fidelity to *Cyrus*, came gallopping toward the Army, his Horſe all over in a Sweat; and, as he rode by the Troops, cryed both in the *Greek* and *Perſian* Language, that the King was advancing with a very numerous Army, in Order of Battle. On this there was the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, and both *Gracians* and *Barbarians* were afraid, leaſt the King might fall on them, before they could be formed into any Order. *Cyrus* leaping from his Chariot, put on his Armour, and mounted his Horſe, and, taking a Javelin in his Hand, gave Orders that all the Troops ſhould repair to their reſpective Standards, and put themſelves under Arms. They loſt no Time in forming themſelves: *Clearchus* extended the Right-Wing along the Banks of the *Euphrates*; *Proxenus* and the other Generals formed themſelves behind him, and *Menon* with his Forces, formed the Left-Wing of the *Gracian* Army. On the Right, next *Clearchus*, were ranged 1000 *Paphlagonian* Horſe, and the *Gracian* Targeteers; on the Left was *Arieus*, Lieutenant to *Cyrus*, with the reſt of the *Barbarian* Army.

Cyrus

Cyrus commanded the main Body, having for
own perſonal Guard 600 Horſe, armed w
Breaſt-plates, Cuiraſſes and Helmets. His H
was naked according to the Cuſtom of the *P*
ans, who engage in Battle with their Heads
armed. The Horſes had Plates to defend th
Heads and Breaſts, and all the Men wore *Gra*
Swords. It was now paſt Noon, and the Ene
were not within Sight, but toward the Eveni
they perceived a Duſt like a white Cloud, and fo
after the whole Plain was in a Manner darkn
with them. As they approached, their Armour a
Javelins glittered with the Sun, and the Diſpo
tion of their Troops was plainly diſcerned. T
Left-Wing of the Enemy conſiſted of the
Horſe, armed with Linnen-Breaſt-Plates, und
the Command of *Tiſſaphernes*; next followed t
Targeteers, after theſe the heavy-armed Troo
(who were ſaid to be *Egyptians*) armed with lar
wooden Shields, that reached down to their Fee
Theſe were followed by another Body of Cavalr
and a Body of Archers. The reſpective Troo
of every Nation, marched in a diſtinct Body b
themſelves, formed into a Square, filled up to th
Center. The ſcythed Chariots were placed in th
Front of the Army, at a ſmall Diſtance from eac
other; ſome of the Scythes were extended obli
quely on each Side of the Axletrees, others poin
ted to the Ground, to cut off whatever ſtood in
their Way. The Intent of theſe was to break,
and cut through the *Grecian* Ranks. But *Cyru*
paſſed a wrong Judgment on the Diſcipline of the
Barbarians, when he encouraged the *Grecians* to
ſuſtain their Shouts; for the King led on his Ar
my with a ſlow equal Pace, and in a ſtill and pro
found Silence.

In

In the mean Time, *Cyrus* attended with *Pigres*, his Interpreter, and three or four of his Nobles, as he paſſed by on Horſeback, gave Orders to *Clearchus*, to charge the main Body of the Enemy, where the King was in Perſon, and, added he, if we be Victorious on that Side, the Day is our own. But although *Clearchus* was within ſight of the main Body of the Enemy, and apprized by *Cyrus*, that it was extended beyond the Left-Wing of the *Græcians*, (for the King was ſo far ſuperior in the Number of Men, that his main Body reached beyond the Left of *Cyrus*) yet he would not draw off the Right-Wing from the River, for fear of being hemmed in on every Side; and in his Anſwer to *Cyrus*, he aſſured him, that he would take Care to order every thing for the Beſt.

The *Barbarians* in the mean while advanced at an even Pace, the *Græcians* kept their Poſt, and formed their Men, as they repaired to their Standards, in Order of Battle. *Cyrus* advancing into the Space, between the two Armies, as he rode by, took a View of both, caſting his Eyes ſometimes on his Enemies, ſometimes on his Friends. *Xenophon* of *Athens*, obſerving him from the *Græcian* Army, galloped up to him, and deſired to know if he had any Orders to ſend to the Army. *Cyrus*, after a ſhort Pauſe, ordered him to declare to the Army, that the Sacrifices and Victims were favourable; and perceiving a Noiſe ſpreading through the Ranks, he demanded the Reaſon of it. *Xenophon* replyed, the Word is paſſing through the Army the ſecond Time. *Cyrus* was ſurprized that the Word was given, and demanded what it was. The other anſwerd, *Jupiter, the Saviour and Victory*. *Cyrus* replyed, I embrace the Omen, and

and let the Word ſtand. After this he return
to his own Poſt; The Armies were within th
or four Furlongs of each other, when the *Græci*
ſung the *Hymn* to *Mars*, and advanced to m
the Enemy. The Ranks moved on like Wa
one after another, and giving all a Martial Sho
they ruſhed on the Foe. Some aver, that t
Sound of their Spears beating on their Shiel
ſcared the *Barbarian* Horſes, and that the Rid
turned their Beaſts, and fled before they we
within reach of their Darts. The *Græcians* pu
ſued them with all their Forces, giving gre
Shouts, and cautioning each other not to bre
their Ranks through Eagerneſs of the Cha
The Chariots had loſt their Riders, and were hu
ried up and down, through Friend and Foe; t
Græcians perceiving them from a Diſtance comi
on, opened their Ranks, but ſome who were te
rified and quitted their Ranks to ſhun them, we
thrown down, as it ſometimes happens in Horſ
races; but not one of the *Græcians*, either by th
Chariots, or otherwiſe in the Fight, received an
Hurt, one excepted in the Left-Wing, who wa
reported to have been wounded with an Arrow

Cyrus perceiving the *Græcians* Victorious, and i
Purſuit of the Enemy, was elated with Joy, and
received from his Guards the Adoration uſually paid
to the King; yet did he not break out into a Pur-
ſuit, but with his 600 Horſe cloſe in a Body,
kept a watchful Eye over the King, whom he
knew to be in the Center of the *Perſian* Army.
For all the Generals among the *Barbarians*, chose
the Center as a Poſt of the greateſt Security, their
Troops being equally diſpoſed on every Side, and as
the moſt convenient Place, as their Orders can in
half of the Time be tranſmitted through the Army.

Though

Though the King was poſted in the main Body of his own Army, yet was he beyond the Left-Wing of *Cyrus*, and finding no one to oppoſe him on that Side, wheeled about: *Cyrus* fearing leſt he might fall on the Rear of the *Græcians*, and cut them in Pieces, advanced againſt him, and attacked him with his 600 Horſe, defeated and put to the Rout the King's Guards of 6000 Horſe, and with his own Hand ſlew *Artagerſes*, their Commander. As ſoon as the Enemy turned their Backs, the 600 Horſe followed the Chace, and are diſperſed through the Plain; and very few, excepting thoſe who are called his Table Companions remained with him. At this Inſtant, he perceived the King in the midſt of his Guards, and unable to contain himſelf, cryed out, I ſee the Man: And, immediately ſpurring up to him, he darted his Javelin againſt his Breaſt, pierced his Cuiraſs, and wounded him according to the Account of (*a*) *Cteſias the Phyſician*, who relates, that he healed the Wound. But, while the Guards on each Side were engaged, and *Cyrus* was giving the Stroke, he was dangerouſly wounded by the Stroke of a Javelin, under the Eye. *Cteſias*, (who was in the King's Army) gives an Account how many fell on that Side in this Encounter. On the other Side *Cyrus* was ſlain, and eight of his beſt Nobles fell fighting round him. It is reported, that *Artapatas* the Scepter Bearer, of the greateſt Fidelity to *Cyrus*, ſeeing

(*a*) This *Cteſias* was a Native of *Cnidos*, and Phyſician to *Artaxerxes*: He wrote a Hiſtory of the *Perſian* and *Aſſyrian* Affairs. *Plutarch* gives a very mean Character of him, and alledges that he filled his Book with a Rhapſody of incredible and ſenſeleſs Fables.

his Maſter was lying on the Ground, diſmounted from his Horſe, and threw himſelf on his Body, and that the King commanded his Guards to ſlay him on the Corps. Others give out that he fell on his Sword, which was of Gold (*b*) He had alſo a Chain, Bracelets, and the other uſual Ornaments of the *Perſian Nobility*; for he was in great Favour with *Cyrus*, for his Affection and Fidelity to him.

In this Manner dyed *Cyrus*, whoſe princely Qualities, by the Confeſſion of all that knew him, rendered him more deſerving of the Empire, than any *Perſian* ſince the firſt *Cyrus*: When he was a Boy, he ſurpaſſed in all his Exerciſes his Brother, and others his Equals, with whom he was educated: For all the Sons of the *Perſian* Nobility are educated at the King's (*c*) Gate. There they are inured to Temperance, and nothing indecent offends either their Eyes or Ears. They are Witneſſes and Spectators of the Honours or Diſgraces, with which the King either rewards or puniſhes his Courtiers; ſo that from their Childhood, they learn both to practiſe Obedience, and how to command. There he paid a greater Revenue than his Equals, and a more ready

(*b*) The wearing of theſe Ornaments is a Proof of the great Eſteem, which *Cyrus* had for his Scepter-Bearer. For by the Regulations of *Cyrus* the Elder, none were allowed to wear Bracelets, Collars, or Bridles of Gold, but thoſe that had received them from the Hand of the King.

(*c*) This was an Expreſſion uſual among the Eaſtern Writers for the King's Palace. And Commentators give this Interpretation to it, wherever it occurs in the ſacred Writings. Thus by *Mordecai's* ſitting in the King's Gate, is generally underſtood his reſiding in the Palace of *Ahaſuerus*, by which Means he was a proper Inſtrument to diſcover the Treachery of the King's Chamberlains. In the Eaſtern Parts of *Aſia* they at this Time call Palaces Gates; and from this Cuſtom the Turks have given the Name of the *Ottoman Port* to the Grand Seignior's Palace.

ready Obedience than his Inferiors, to the Elders that had the Care of them. He took a great Pleaſure in Horſes; and was excellently well ſkilled in the Management of them. He was very fond and ſtudious of the warlike Exerciſes of ſhooting with the Bow, and throwing the Javelin. When he entered the Order of the Youth, he delighted very much in Hunting, and courted Opportunities of Danger from the wild Beaſts: and once miſſing his Aim at a Bear, he was pulled from his Horſe by the furious Beaſt, but at laſt he got the Better, and ſlew it, though he received ſeveral Wounds, of which he bore the Marks; and the Man, that firſt came in to his Aſſiſtance, he rendered happy in the Eye of the World.

Being conſtituted by his Father *Satrap* of *Lydia*, *Phrygia Major*, and *Cappadocia*, and nominated Generaliſſimo of all the Forces (*d*) muſtered in the Plain of *Caſtolus*; he declared at his Entrance on his Government, that he was fully reſolved to maintain inviolable, all Alliances, Confederacies and Treaties of Peace, wherein he ſhould be concerned. Wherefore all the Cities in

(*d*) In the laſt Book of the memorable Things of *Socrates*. That great Philoſopher takes Notice of the excellent Method purſued by the King of *Perſia*, in the Government of his Dominions; and obſerves, that the King every Year viſits either in Perſon, or orders ſome truſty Perſon to viſit his Garriſons. He alſo appoints certain Places of Rendezvous where his Forces are reviewed, and ſuch Officers, as muſter their full Compliment of Men, he takes Care to reward with Gifts and Honours. This Method was inſtituted by *Cyrus* the Elder, but fell into Diſuſe in the Reigns of the ſucceeding Kings; but was now revived and put in Practice again by this young Prince. Thoſe Officers that reviewed, and muſtered the Forces were dignified with the Title of Caranus, which ſignified Generaliſſimo, as we are aſſured by *Xenophon*.

in his Provinces, and all his Subjects put the greateſt Confidence in him. And his Enemies, after a Peace was concluded, were never apprehenſive of a Breach of its Articles. And on this Account in his War againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, all the Cities joined voluntarily with *Cyrus*, *Miletus* excepted, which dreaded a ſevere Treatment, becauſe he would not give up the Cauſe of the Exiles. For he aſſured them, and his Actions were a Proof of his Sincerity, that, ſince he had profeſſed himſelf their Friend, he would not abandon them, though Fortune ſhould even yet prove more averſe, and reduce them to a leſſer Number. He openly contended to outdo his Enemies in Injuries, and his Benefactors in good Services. And we have heard from ſome, that he made this Prayer. (*e*) *That he might live to exceed his Friends in doing Good, and his Enemies in doing Miſchief:* So that no one Man in our Time, was ever ſo much entruſted with the Lives and Fortunes of other Men.

Rapine and Injuſtice never inſulted within his Government, but he puniſhed thoſe Crimes without Mercy, and the Offenders might be ſeen in the publick Roads, mutilated of their Legss their Hands or their Eyes. So that *Greek* or *Barbarian* might travel through all the Province under the Government of *Cyrus*, without Dan

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(*e*) This Sentence *Sylla* deſired to be inſcribed on his Tomb, and this Character our *Britiſh* Hiſtorian gives to the great Earl of *Strafford*. Whatever Place it might have held in the Heathen Morals, it has certainly nothing of Chriſtianity, and if impartially conſidered muſt create in us a mean Opinion of the Perſon. For to forgive the Injuries of an Enemy is more noble, pious, and ſatisfactory to a good Man, than to retaliate them. And it is as great a weakneſs to Revenge, as to commit an Injuſtice. *Plato* has handled this Subject in a moſt noble Manner.

ger to his Perſon, or loſs of his Fortune. To thoſe that ſignalized themſelves by warlike Actions, he ſhewed a particular Eſteem. His firſt Expedition was againſt the *Piſidians* and *Myſians*, and thoſe that behaved themſelves bravely in that War, he made Governours of the conquered Towns, and honoured with many other Preſents. So that Courage ſeemed to raiſe a Man to a State of compleat Happineſs, and Cowards became the Slaves of the Brave. And great Numbers, when they thought that *Cyrus* was a Spectator of their Actions, voluntarily expoſed themſelves to all Dangers. If any one was known to have done any remarkable Acts of Juſtice, he took Care to make that Man the Envy of thoſe, that heaped up Riches by Guilt and Oppreſſion. As his Adminiſtration in many other Reſpects was laudable, ſo by it he rendered his Army truly excellent. For the *Græcian* Officers entered not into his Service for the Sake of their monthly Pay, but with a View to thoſe greater Advantages, which were always the Recompence of a ready Performance of his Orders. For he did not ſuffer a chearful Obedience to go unrequited: And on this Account the Servants of *Cyrus*, in all Reſpects were, as we have been informed, the Beſt. If a Governour of a Diſtrict, by a juſt Oeconomy, augmented the Revenues, and fortified the Garriſon Towns, he never ſqueezed any Money from that Man, but conferred Rewards on him; ſo that his Officers acquired Riches with Pleaſure, and enjoyed them without Dread of loſing them; nor did they conceal from him the Profits accruing from their Governments. He never made any Pretext to deprive of their Riches, thoſe that freely made Uſe of them; but he ſcrupled not to

take

take away the Treaſures of thoſe Miſers who diſſembled their Worth. If he found any one well affected to him, and capable of facilitating his Deſigns, this Man he was very zealous to oblige by all poſſible Services, for as he ſtood in Need of others to aſſiſt him, ſo he endeavoured to be a moſt powerful Coadjutor to his Friends, in effecting their Deſires.

I have Reaſon to believe no one Man ever received more Preſents. Theſe he did not hoard up, but he beſtowed them on his Friends, and in the Diſtribution had Regard to their Manners and Neceſſities. And when Preſents were made to adorn or defend his Perſon in War, or to beautify his Face, he would ſay, that he reckoned all theſe Things not the leaſt Ornament to his Perſon, but that Friends elegantly dreſſed were the greateſt Ornament, with which a Man could ſet off himſelf. That he ſhould ſurpaſs his Friends in Beneficence is not to be wondered at; but that he ſhould exceed them in his Application and Zeal, to gratify them, ſeems to me moſt worthy of Notice. If a Flask of Wine at his Table was better than Ordinary, he would (*f*) ſend half of it to a Favourite with this Compliment, That he had not drank better for a long time, and he hath therefore ſent this, deſiring you would drink it to Day with your beſt Friends. At another Time he would ſend to a Favourite half of a Gooſe, and half of a Loaf, with Orders to the Meſſenger to tell him, That *Cyrus* was very much taken with them,

(*f*) This Cuſtom of ſending Meat and Drink from the Table, was firſt practiced by *Cyrus* the Elder, and for this Reaſon, becauſe no Benefaction among Men of equal Expence, is ſo grateful and engaging, as the ſharing of Meat and Drink with them.

them, and therefore desirous, that his Friend should have a Taste of them. The Number and Diligence of his Servants never failed to procure him Forage in the greatest Scarcity: This Forage he would distribute among his Friends, desiring them to give it to their Saddle-Beasts; for it troubled him to see his Friends ill-mounted on lean hungry Beasts. If he observed, as he was taking a Walk, that many had their Eyes fixed on him; he would call his Favourites and hold a Discourse with them about some Affair or other, that he might point out to the World those for whom he had an Esteem. So that by the Reports I have heard, I am truly of Opinion, no Man ever gained the Affection of more *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; of which this is undoubted Proof, that after the Contention between the two Brothers, no one fell off to the King from *Cyrus*, though he was the Vassal of the other. *Orontes* indeed attempted it; and though he was not under the least Suspicion of Disloyalty to the King, yet was it soon manifest, that he retained a greater Affection for *Cyrus*. On the other Hand, many forsook the King, and went over to *Cyrus*; and some of these were the King's greatest Favourites, being persuaded that their Courage would meet with a greater Recompence from *Cyrus*, than from the King. (g) The Manner of his Death is a convincing Proof

(g) No Man was ever of a more grateful Nature than *Xenophon*. He takes all Occasions of praising his Friends. And in the late Book of the memorable Things of *Socrates*, that Oeconomist takes Notice of the judicious, Choice which *Cyrus* made of his Friends, inasmuch as they were constant to him, even to the losing of their Lives, But *Socrates* was either dead at this Time, or before an Account of the Death of *Cyrus* could be transmitted into *Greece*: And hence some

Proof of his own Courage, and judicious Choice of faithful, affectionate, and conſtant Friends; For all his Friends, and Table Companions fell fighting round his dead Body, excepting *Ariæus*, who was poſted in the Left-wing of the Army, and fled with all the Troops under his Command, as ſoon as he heard of the Death of *Cyrus*.

Then the Head, and Right-hand of *Cyrus* were cut off, and the King with his Troops entered the Camp of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* made not the leaſt Reſiſtance, but fled to the former Camp, which was four Paraſangs Diſtant. The King plundered the Camp, and took among the Priſoners *(b)* the *Phocæan* Concubine to *Cyrus*, and by Report, a Woman of great Wiſdom and Beauty. There was another Concubine younger of Years, and a this

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Criticks conclude the Book of Oeconomicks to be a forged Piece; but certainly they have little Experience of the Force of Friendſhip, and it was doubtleſs no Injury done to the World, to inſert this Paſſage among the memorable Things of *Socrates*, as that great Man, had he been living, would have made the ſame Obſervation.

(b) This Concubine was the celebrated Daughter of *Hermotimus* of *Phocæa*. Her Name was *Milto*, but *Cyrus* changed it into *Aſpaſia*, after the famous Miſtreſs of *Peaſicles*. *Xenophon* here relates, that ſhe was reported to be a Woman of great Wiſdom and Beauty; but *Plutarch* more to her Honour, writes, that ſhe was ſirnamed the Wiſe. We meet in this laſt Author a ſurprizing Account of the Force of her Beauty. It was cuſtomary among the *Perſians* for the King to grant to the Prince, on his being declared Heir to the Crown any one Favour which he ſhould demand. When *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius* his Heir, he demanded this *Aſpaſia* at that Time one of the King's Concubines, whom the Father refuſed to give him. *Artaxerxes* reigned 55 Years at leaſt; ſo that *Aſpaſia* could not have been leſs than 75 at this Time, when *Darius* preferred her to any Boon, which the great King of *Perſia* could grant; and on Account of the Refuſal, he engaged in a Conſpiracy againſt his Father.

Citizen of *Miletus*, who made her Eſcape from the King's Guards, and fled naked to the *Gracians* that had a Care of the Baggage. Theſe put a ſtop to the King's Troops, and ſlew ſeveral of them as they were taken up in rifling the Camp; but they alſo ſuſtained ſome Loſs. Notwithſtanding which they ſtood their Ground, and preſerved the Woman with all the Baggage, Effects and Men from falling into the Enemies Hands. The King and the *Gracians* were now about 30 Furlongs from each other, the one victoriouſly purſuing their Enemies, the other no leſs acting the Part of a Conqueror, and rifling the Camp. When they were apprized of the others Succeſs, that on this Side the Enemy was rifling the Baggage, and on that Side, the *Gracians* were purſuing the Run-aways; the King rallied his Forces, and formed them again in Order of Battle; and *Clearchus* calling to *Proxenus*, who was the neareſt Officer to him, asked his Advice whether he ſhould ſend a Detachment to the Defence of the Camp. At this Inſtant they perceived the King on their Rear, and the *Gracians* facing about, prepared to receive him; but the King made no offer to attack them; but, paſſing by on the Left, picked up thoſe that had been ſeparated from him in the Heat of Fight, and then joined *Tiſſaphernes* with his Forces. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not betaken himſelf to Flight at the firſt Onſet, but paſſed with his Cavalry through the Midſt of the *Gracian* Targeteers that were drawn up on the Banks of the River; for they opening to the Right and Left, gave him a free Paſſage, ſo that they loſt not a Man, but made good Uſe of their Darts and Javelins againſt the Enemy. *Epiſthenes* of *Amphipolis*, a Man of Bravery and Reputation, comman-

ded the Targeteers. *Tiſſaphernes*, finding that he had the Worſt in this Encounter, made a Retreat, and, as he paſſed by the *Grecian* Camp, met the King, and, having joined their Forces, they advanced again on the Left. The *Græcians* being apprehenſive, that if they were attacked in that Part, they might be ſurrounded, and cut in Pieces, widened their Ranks, ſo that their Rear might be defended by the River. In the mean Time, the King's Troops returned to their former Diſpoſition, and advanced to charge the *Græcians* in the Front. They, perceiving the Enemy ready to charge them, ſounded an Alarm, and advanced to meet them with greater Alacrity than before. The *Barbarians* ſuſtained not their Charge, but fled outright; the Chace was followed to a Village where the *Græcians* halted. The King's Forces made a ſtand on a Hill behind the Village. The whole Hill was covered with Troops, conſiſting entirely of Horſe, ſo that their Poſture could not be diſcovered; but ſome reported that they ſaw the King's Standard, being a golden Eagle, diſplayed on a Spear. The *Græcians* no ſooner made a ſhew of attacking them; than they quitted the Hill, diſperſing themſelves by Flight, and ſhifting for themſelves different Ways. The Hill by Degrees became thinner of Troops, and at laſt, the Enemy quite diſappeared. *Clearchus* halting at the Foot of the Hill, ſends *Lycius* of *Syracuſe* with another Perſon to the Top to obſerve the Enemy. *Lycius* galloped up, and brought back Word, that they were flying with great Precipitation; it being now almoſt Sun-ſet, the *Græcians* put a ſtop to the Chace, and, laying down their Arms, reſted themſelves; wondering, that they had neither ſeen nor received any Meſſage

from

from *Cyrus*, for as yet they had not heard of his Death, but thought that he was either abſent in Purſuit of the Enemy, or gone to make himſelf Maſter of ſome advantagious Poſt. On this they debated in Council, whether they ſhould remain there, and ſend for their Baggage, or return to their Camp; they reſolved on the laſt, and reached their Camp about Supper-time. Thus ended the Day's Fight. At their Arrival, they found not only the greateſt Part of their other Baggage rifled, but alſo all their Proviſions deſtroyed. Their Waggons of Flower and Wine (which were about 400, and were provided by *Cyrus* for the *Græcians*, in Caſe of a Scarcity in the Camp) were all plundered by the Enemy. By theſe Means the *Græcians* took no Supper, neither had they eaten any Dinner; the King's Troops having appeared in Sight, before the uſual Time of dining, and in that Manner they paſſed the Night.



THE ASCENT OF *CYRUS* the Younger, &c.

BOOK II.

WE have related, at large, in the preceding Book, the Expedients, which *Cyrus* uſed to raiſe an Army of *Græcians*, in the War againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, the Tranſactions in their Aſcent, the Event of the Battle, the Death of *Cyrus*, and the Return of the *Græcians* to their Camp at Night, believing themſelves to be on all ſides Victorious, and *Cyrus* ſtill alive.

As ſoon as it was Day, the Generals called a Council of War, wondering, that they had neither ſeen nor received any Meſſage from *Cyrus*. The Reſult of the Council was, to pack up their Baggage, and march in Order of Battle to join him. The Sun was now riſing, and the Army marching out of the Camp, when *Procles* (deſcended

ſcended from (a) *Demaratus* of *Sparta*, and formerly Governour of *Teuthrania*) and *Glous*, Son of *Tamon* came to them with this Meſſage; That *Cyrus* was dead, and *Ariæus*, with the Remains of the *Barbarian* Army, retreated to their former Camp; that he would wait there that Day for the *Græcians*, and the Day following ſet out for *Ionia*, from whence he came. The whole Army, both Officers and Soldiers, were ſtruck with Conſternation at this News; but *Clearchus* returned this Anſwer, Happy would it be for us, were *Cyrus* living; but ſince we have loſt him, tell *Ariæus* that we have defeated the King, and that the Enemy hath quitted the Field of Battle, and, had not your coming prevented us, we had gone in Queſt of the King. And, if *Ariæus* will come and join us; We engage to place him on the Throne of the King; for to diſpoſe of Kingdoms is the Privilege of the Conquerours. After this he diſmiſſed the Meſſengers, and ſent with them *Chiriſophus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Menon* the *Theſſalian*; who being a Friend and Gueſt to *Ariæus*, deſired, that he might have the Liberty of going. *Clearchus* remained in the Camp; and the Soldiers made the beſt Shift they could for Proviſions, by killing the Carriage-Beaſts, They alſo conſtrained the Deſerters from the King's Army, to gather up the *Perſian* and *Egyptian* wooden Shields, and the Darts that ſtuck in the Field of Battle, which was at a ſmall Diſtance from

(a) This *Demaratus* had been King of *Sparta*, being dethroned, and exiled from his Country; he fled to *Xerxes*, by whom he was graciouſly received. He ſent the firſt Advice of the mighty Preparations intended by the King *Perſia* againſt *Greece*. A full Account of this the Reader may find in the 8th Book of *Herodotus*.

from their Camp; and these with the empty Waggons, and Targets in the Camp, served to dress their Meat that Day.

About Noon arrived Heralds from *Artaxerxes* and *Tissaphernes*. There was with them one (*b*) *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, in great Favour with *Tissaphernes*, for his pretended Skill in marshalling an Army, and instructing the Men in the Exercise of their Arms. These, being admitted into the Presence of the *Grecian* Generals, required them in the Name of the King, as he had gained the Victory and slain *Cyrus*, to surrender their Arms, and implore his Mercy at his Palace-Gates. This was the Message of the King's Heralds. The *Grecians* were filled with Indignation at it; but *Clearchus* made this short Reply. It is not for Conquerors to surrender their Arms. Then addressing himself to the other Generals, he said. Do You, O Generals, give these Men such an Answer as you judge to be the most honourable and expedient, and I will return unto you instantly; for he was called to be present at the Opening of the Entrails of some Victims, which he had ordered to be sacrificed. Then *Cleanor* of *Arcadia*, the Oldest of the Generals, spoke thus, that they would rather part with their Lives, than their Arms. (*c*) *Proxenus* of *Thebes* also made this Answer, Doth the King, O *Phalinus*, demand our Arms from us as our Conqueror, or request them

(*b*) *Plutarch* calls him *Phayllus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Philenus*. He was a Native of the Island *Zacynthus* now *Zante*.

(*c*) *Diodorus Siculus*, without any just Grounds, alters the Authors of the several Speeches. The Answer of *Proxenus* he puts in the Mouth of one *Sophilus*, whom he mistakes for *Sophanetus*. And *Clearchus* delivers this noble and magnanimous Speech of *Xenophon*.

them as our Friend? If he demands like our Conqueror, let him come and take them from us; but if he requeſts us for them like our Friend, let him declare what we, who are Soldiers, may expect, if we gratify him in his Requeſt. To this *Phalinus* replyed, The King is of Opinion, that the Death of *Cyrus* hath given him the Victory; for who is there to be his Rival, and dipute the Empire with him? He looks on you alſo as his Captives; ſince you are ſhut up in the very Heart of his Empire, by impaſſable Rivers, and he is able to bring into the Field againſt you, ſuch numerous Armies, as you cannot deſtroy, even though they are delivered naked into your Hands. Then *Xenophon* of *Athens* replyed, You ſee, O *Phalinus*, that we are left poſſeſſed of nothing but our Arms and Courage; and we imagine, that while we preſerve the one, the other will not be uſeleſs to us; but when we part with our Arms, we ceaſe to be any longer Maſters of our own Perſons. Expect not therefore, that we will tamely deliver to you theſe ſole Remains of our Fortunes, but that, by the Help of them, we will contend with you even for your own Poſſeſſions. To this *Phalinus* with a ſcornful Smile replyed, You have, (*d*) O young Man, the Air of a Philoſopher,

(*d*) This Expedition was undertaken in the 3d or 4th Year of the 94th Olympiad. *Xenophon* was born in the 2d or 3d Year of the 82d Olympiad, and conſequently he muſt have been near fifty Years of Age, and this Expreſſion taken Ironically. This is the general Opinion of Commentators, and Chronologers concerning his Age. But *Xenophon* himſelf in the next Book tells, that he was in the Vigour of his Age, but a Man of fifty is on the declining Hand, and he declares that he would not make his Youth an Excuſe for declining the Command of the Troops. And of the five Generals put to Death by the King, he was older than four, and but

loſopher, and your Diſcourſe is not unpleaſant. But, aſſure thy ſelf, that thou deſerveſt not the Title of a wiſe Man, if thou imagineſt, that the Courage of the *Gracians* can triumph over the Power of the King. It was ſaid, that ſome effeminated by their Fears, made this Anſwer to *Phalinus*. That, as their Fidelity to *Cyrus* was well known, ſo if the King would condeſcend to Terms of Friendſhip with them, they might be of great Service to him; and that they were ready to aſſiſt him in reducing *Egypt*, or in any other Expedition. In the mean Time, *Clearchus* came, and asked the Generals, if they had declared their Reſolution. *Phalinus*, interrupted him, and ſaid, They cannot agree in one and the ſame Anſwer. Tell me therefore O *Clearchus*, what are your own Sentiments? *Clearchus* replyed thus, Your coming here, O *Phalinus*, adminiſters great Satisfaction, not to myſelf only, but I believe, to all preſent; for you are a Native of *Greece*, as we are all, that are here before your Eyes; and we are deſirous of having your Advice what to do in this Juncture. And we conjure you by the Gods, to give us ſuch Advice as ſeems to you to be the moſt conſiſtent with our preſent Safety and Honour; and which may be hereafter

one Year ſhort of the Fifth. I am apt to believe that Chronologers have ante-dated the Time of his Birth. And this whole Error ſeems to be owing to the Account we have of his being ſaved by *Socrates*, at the Battle of *Delium*, at which, *Athenæus* denies *Socrates* to have been preſent, but granting that *Xenophon* was at that Battle which was fought at the Year of 89th Olymp. and that it was his firſt Campaign, which he might have made at 18 Years of Age, he could now be but little more than 40. But if he was a Boy (as *Caſaubon* alledges) at the Banquet of *Callias*, which was three Yeas after the Battle of *Delium*, he was at this Time ſcarce more than 30, if ſo much.

mentioned with moſt Glory to yourſelf, when it ſhall be told in *Greece*, (for be aſſured that Fame will carry your Advice thither) that, when *Phalinus* was ſent by the King, to command the *Græcians* to ſurrender their Arms, he gave them ſuch or ſuch Advice. *Clearchus* imagined, that this Intimation would have had ſome Effect on *Phalinus*; and that the *Græcians*, hearing a Meſſenger from the King, adviſe them not to ſurrender their Arms, would conceive the greater Confidence of themſelves. But *Phalinus*, having withdrawn for a ſhort Time, diſappointed his Expectation by this Anſwer. If all other Means of Safety are deſpaired of; and your only Hopes depend on the Points of your Swords, it is my Advice, that you part not with your Arms. But if there is not the leaſt Proſpect of Safety by them, maugre the Will of the King; I would have you to embrace whatever other Means of preſerving your Lives are offer'd to you. To this *Clearchus* replyed, This is your Advice to us, and this is our Anſwer to the King. (*e*) That we are of Opinion, that our Friendſhip will be more valuable to the King, if we keep our Arms, than if we deliver them to another. And if we are compelled to War againſt him, we ſhall with theſe be enabled to carry on the War with greater Vigour. *Phalinus* replyed, This Anſwer will we deliver to the King. But I have alſo Inſtructions from the King, to declare unto you, that he will obſerve a Truce with you, while you remain in your preſent Camp; and that he denounces War againſt you on the leaſt Motion,

(*e*) *Leonidas* returned an Anſwer to the ſame Purpoſe, whom *Xerxes* ſent to the *Græcians*, at *Thermopyla* to ſurrender their Arms.

on, to advance or retreat. Shall I then carry back the Tidings of Peace or War? *Clearchus* anſwered, Tell the King, that in theſe things our Sentiments concur with the King's. What is your Meaning replyed *Phalinus*? *Clearchus* anſwered, That there be a Truce while we remain here, and War when we advance or retreat. *Phalinus* asked him again, ſhall I carry back the Tidings of Peace or War? *Clearchus* replyed again in the ſame Words. That there be a Truce while we remain here, and War when we advance or retreat: But by this Anſwer, he did not declare what Reſolution he did deſign to take. So *Phalinus* and the Heralds departed.

After this *Procles* and *Chiriſophus* returned from *Arixus*; but *Menon* remained with him. They brought this Anſwer. That *Arixus* ſaid, there were many Perſons in Dignity ſuperior to him, and that they would never brook to ſee him ſeated on the Throne. That he deſired they would join him that Night, if they intended to march back in Conjunction with him; and if they failed ſo to do, that he would march off with his own Forces in the Morning. To this *Clearchus* replyed, We are indeed under a Neceſſity of acting in the Manner you mention, if we purpoſe to go unto him; but if we fail to join him, he is at Liberty to take what Courſe he judges moſt expedient. But neither did he to thoſe make known his own Reſolution. About Sun-ſet he aſſembled all the Officers, and ſpake to them in this Manner, When I conſulted, O Men, the Sacrifices, whether we ſhould march in Queſt of the King, no Omens appeared; neither is this to be wondered at; for, according to my Intelligence, the *Tigris* ſeparates us from the King. The River is navigable, and

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we are deſtitute of Shipping to tranſport ourſelves to the other Side. It is moreover impoſſible for us to continue where we are; for we have no Proviſions. On the other Hand, the Omens are favourable for a Conjunction with the Friends of *Cyrus*. Theſe Things therefore muſt neceſſarily be done. At the breaking up of the Council you muſt ſup on ſuch Victuals as you have; and at the firſt Sound of the Horn, the uſual Signal for repairing to Reſt, get your Baggage in Readineſs; at the ſecond ſounding put your Baggage on your Carriage-Beaſts; and at the third ſounding every Man follow his Leader, diſpoſing the Baggage next the River, and let the Men under Arms march without the Baggage next the Plain. After this the Council broke up; and the Generals and Captains put theſe Orders in Execution. From this Time *Clearchus* aſſumed the ſupreme Command, not by the Suffrage of the Army, but the Soldiers voluntarily ſubmitted to him, ſeeing that the other Generals had not Experience, and that he alone was equal to that Province. The Time taken up in their March from *Epheſus* in *Ionia*, to the Field of Battle was 93 Days, in which they marched 535 Paraſangs, which amount to 16050 Furlongs; and the Diſtance from the Field of Battle to *Babylon*, was computed at 3060 Furlongs.

As ſoon as it was dark, *Miltocythes*, a *Thracian*, deſerted to the King, and carried off with him 40 Horſe, and 300 of the *Thracian* Infantry; and *Clearchus* with the Army decamped in the Manner concluded on, and arriving at their former Camp about Midnight, they joined the *Barbarian* Army. And Orders being given to the Soldiers to ſtand under Arms in order of Battle, the Generals and Captains went to the Tent of *Arieus*

and

and the *Græcian* Officers on the one Part, and *Ariæus* and his chief Officers on the other, entered into an Alliance, and mutually ſwore not to betray one the other. The *Barbarians* alſo on their Side ſwore to another Article, that they would behave as faithful and ſincere Guides to the *Gracians*. In Confirmation of this Alliance they ſacrificed a Bear, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram, and, pouring the Blood of the Victims into the Hollow of a Shield, the *Græcians* dipped therein a Sword, and the *Barbarians* a Lance. When the Alliance was ratified, *Clearchus* ſpoke to *Ariæus* in this Manner. Since the ſame Meaſures conduce to the Safety of each of us, declare your Opinion concerning our future March. Shall we return by the ſame Way, or do you know how we may bend our Courſe more advantageouſly? To this *Ariæus* replyed. If we take the ſame Rout, we ſhall inevitably periſh by Famine, for we have no Store of Proviſions, and in our Aſcent hither, the Product of the Country, through which we marched for ſeventeen Days, could not ſubſiſt us, and we conſumed what ſmall Matter of Neceſſaries the Country afforded. But we have taken a Reſolution to fetch a larger Circuit, whereby we ſhall not fail of Subſiſtance from the Parts we march through; and our firſt Marches muſt be very long, that we may get as far as poſſible before the King. For, if we can caſt him two or three Days march behind, he will not thenceforward be able to overtake us; for a ſmall Party will never anſwer the Intent of a Purſuit, and ſhort Marches, and a frequent Scarcity of Proviſions are the neceſſary Attendants on a numerous Army. This, ſaid he, is my Opinion. But this Method of leading the Army, ſeemed calculated for a ſpeedy Retreat,

treat, or rather Flight; however (*f*) Providence proved a better Guide to them.

At Break of Day they began their March towards the North, hoping, that at the ſetting of the Sun they might take up their Quarters in ſome Villages of the Province of *Babylon*; and they were not diſappointed of their Hopes. Toward the Evening they fancied that they ſaw a Body of Cavalry at a Diſtance. The *Græcians* ran in Confuſion to their Ranks, and *Ariæus*, leaping from his Chariot, (which he was conſtrained to ride in, by Reaſon of a Wound he had received in the Battle) put on his Armour, and all his Guards armed themſelves likewiſe. In the mean Time the Scours brought Word, that they were not regular Troops, but Carriage-Beaſts at Graſs. By this they conjectured, that the King was encamped at no great Diſtance from them, and at the ſame Time they diſcerned the Smoke of the neighbouring Villages. It was now late, and the Soldiers were harraſſed with their March and Faſting, ſo that *Clearchus* made no Motion againſt the Enemies; nor did he alter his Courſe, leſt it might create a Suſpicion of a Flight: But, proceeding directly on, the Van took up their Quarters in the neareſt Villages about Sun-ſet. Theſe Villages were ſo rifled, that even the Timber of the Houſes was carried away. This Part of the Army made a ſhift to get tolerable Quarters; but the Rear, being overtaken with the Night, reſted themſelves in any Place they could find, with great

(*f*) I have here tranſlated τύχη Providence. For though it generally ſignifies Fortune, or Chance, yet it frequently bears the Senſe of δαίμων & τύχη, or θεία τύχη, *i. e.* divine Providence. And in this Senſe it is moſt agreeable to the Piety of the Author.

great Clamours, calling to, and asking Queſtions of each other, which the Enemy hearing, quitted their Quarters, as was diſcovered the next Day; for neither Beaſt, nor Camp, nor Smoke, appeared near at Hand. And that the near Approach of the *Græcians* terrified the King, his Behaviour the next Day clearly diſcovered. In the Night a Panick Fear, accompanied with Confuſion and Clamours, ſpread through the Army. On this *Clearchus* ordered *Tolmides* (who was in his Quarters, and the beſt Herald in the Army) to make Proclamation, offering a Talent of Silver to any one that ſhould make known the Author of the Tumult. This ſatisfied the Army, that their Fears were groundleſs, and the Generals free from Danger. The next Morning, as ſoon as it was Day, *Clearchus* diſtributed Orders through the Army, to form themſelves in the ſame Order as in the late Engagement.

That the King, as I mentioned before, was terrified at the near Approach of the *Græcians* is manifeſt. For on the preceding Day, he had in an imperious Style, commanded them to ſurrender their Arms; but this Morning, at the Riſing of the Sun, he ſent Envoys to negotiate a Truce. When they came to the Out-Guards, they ſent to the Generals to deſire Admittance. *Clearchus* was reviewing the Army, and ſent them Word that they muſt wait 'till he was at Leiſure. Having drawn up the Army in ſuch a Diſpoſition as to appear a Phalanx, filled up to the Center, and to conceal the Want of Armour in the unarmed Multitude; he ordered the Deputies to be introduced, and went to meet them with a Guard of his beſt armed, and moſt perſonable Troops, and gave Inſtructions, that the other Generals ſhould

follow

follow his Example. When he came to the Envoys, he commanded them to declare their Buſineſs. They replyed, That they had Power from the King, to make Propoſals of Peace to them, and to report what they had to offer. Tell him, ſaid *Clearchus*, that he muſt in the firſt Place fight us, for we have no Victuals to eat, and no one ever dared to propoſe Peace to the *Græcians*, without giving them a previous Supply of Proviſions. On this the Deputies left the Camp, but in a ſhort Time returned again. And this was a ſufficient Indication that either the King, or ſome one commiſſioned by the King to manage that Affair, was not far from their Camp. Their Anſwer was, That their Demands ſeemed reaſonable to the King, and that, if they conſented to a Truce, they ſhould receive Guides, to conduct them to Plenty of Proviſions. *Clearchus* then demanded whether the Truce ſhould extend to the whole Army, or thoſe only that were to fetch and carry the Proviſions. They replyed, the whole Army, till the King is apprized of your Demands. *Clearchus* then ordered the Heralds to withdraw, and asked the Opinion of the other Generals, who unanimouſly reſolved to agree to a Truce, that they might without Moleſtation ſupply themſelves with Neceſſaries. *Clearchus* ſaid, I am of the ſame Opinion; but I ſhall defer to declare your Reſolution, in order to create an Apprehenſion in the Heralds, that you refuſe to comply with a Truce; though I believe our Soldiers will be under the ſame Apprehenſions. When he thought that he had made a ſufficient Delay, he told them, that he agreed to the Truce, and, purſuant to the Preliminaries, demanded to be conducted to the Place from whence they might be ſupplyed with Proviſions,

ſions, and they conducted him. *Clearchus*, not confiding in the future Truce, marched with the Army drawn up in Order of Battle, and took on himſelf the Command of the Rear. The Canals and Flats were full of Water, and impaſſable without Bridges; but they found Means to paſs them by making Floats, partly of Palm-Trees that were lying on the Ground, partly of others which they cut down. Here *Clearchus* gave ſufficient Proofs of his being an able General; for with his Spear in his Right-Hand, and his Battoon in his Left, he kept a ſtrict Eye over the Soldiers, and if he perceived any of them remiſs in the Execution of his Orders, he removed them, and put others in their Place. And, at the ſame Time going into the Mire, he was not ſparing of his own Perſon, ſo that every one was aſhamed not to apply himſelf to the Work. There were none but thoſe of 30 Years of Age aſſigned to this Task, but the oldeſt Soldiers ſet themſelves to the Work, when they ſaw *Clearchus* ſo eagerly labouring at it; for he was the more urgent in this Emergency, as he had a Suſpicion, that theſe Canals were not at other Times ſo full (for it was not the Seaſon of watering the Plains) but that the Country was drowned with Water by the Command of the King, in order to ſtrike into the *Græcians*, the Dread of numberleſs Difficulties, attending a Retreat into *Greece*. Proceeding on their March, they came to ſome Villages, from whence the Guides informed them, they might furniſh themſelves with Neceſſaries. Theſe Villages abounded with Corn, Palm-Wine, and (g) Vinegar, which

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(g) Dr. *Potter* in the 18th Chap. of his 2d Vol. of *Grecian Antiquities*, writes that Ὄξος ἰφνὸν is a general Name for

the Natives made by boiling the Juice of the Palm-Tree. Theſe Nuts are generally of the ſame Size with thoſe in *Greece*, and the uſual Food of their Slaves; but there were others exceeding fair and large, culled out, and reſerved for the Maſters of Families. They are of an Amber Colour; ſome of them they dry, and uſe after the Manner of Sweetmeats. The Liquor extracted from them is of a pleaſant Flavour, but apt to give the Head-ach; many of the Soldiers, enticed by the Beauty and peculiar Sweetneſs of the Medulla, did at the firſt eat greedily thereof, but they were afterwards ſeized with violent Pains in their Heads; and the Palms, from which the Medulla was taken, dried quite up.

Here they continued three Days, and during this Interval, *Tiſſaphernes*, with the Brother of the Queen, and three other *Perſians*, attended with a Multitude of Slaves, came to the Camp. The *Græcian* Generals went out to receive them, and *Tiſſaphernes* ſpoke to them by an Interpreter, in the following Manner. Men of *Greece*, I am a Neighbour to your native Country, and, when I ſaw you involved in inſuperable Difficulties, I conſidered by what Means I might obtain from the King, the Liberty to render you a ſafe Return into *Greece*. And, I aſſure myſelf, that not you only, but all *Greece*, will retain a grateful Senſe of my Demeanour toward you. Preſuming on this, I made my Requeſt to the King, alledging, that

all made Wines; and in that Senſe is uſed by the ancient Writers; but notwithſtanding the Authority of ſo great a Man, I have ventured to tranſlate it otherwiſe, as *Xenophon* expreſſly aſſerts, that they had another Sort of Liquor which he terms Οἶνος ἰδιώτης, made of the ſame Tree, and conſequently, could not be the ſame as the Wine.

that he ought to gratify me in it, as I had given him the firſt Notice of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, and at the ſame Time brought my Troops to his Aſſiſtance; and that I alone of all his Generals had not turned my Back to the *Græcians*, but, paſſing through the Midſt of your Forces, had joined the King in your Camp after the Death of *Cyrus*. That I had moreover purſued the *Barbarians* in the Army of *Cyrus*, with the Troops at preſent under my Command, and that theſe are of moſt approved Fidelity to him. For theſe Services he aſſured me, that he would take my Petition into Conſideration; and he hath now ſent me to demand of you the Reaſon of your taking up Arms againſt him. And, it is my Advice, that your Anſwer be made in ſubmiſſive Terms, that I may have the more Room to interpoſe in your Behalf. After this the *Græcians* withdrew to conſult of an Anſwer, which they delivered by *Cleärchus* in the Manner following. We had no intent by a Conjunction of our Forces, to make a War againſt the King, nor was our March deſigned againſt him. But *Cyrus*, as you are ſenſible, framed many Pretences, both to fall on you in a defenceleſs Condition, and to engage us in his Enterprize; and, when we ſaw him involved in many Difficulties, we conſidered, that we had liſted our ſelves under him for his Service, and we were aſhamed to betray him in the Sight of the Gods and Men. But ſince *Cyrus* is dead, we make no Oppoſition againſt the Rule of the King, neither have we any Reaſon to infeſt his Territories, nor any Deſign to touch his Life, but we would willingly return to *Greece*, if no one might moleſt us in our March thither. And if any Injury be offered to us, we ſhall endeavour by the Help of the Gods,

Gods to avenge ourſelves; and if, on the Contrary, we receive any Favours, we ſhall not be wanting to retaliate them to the utmoſt of our Power. To this *Tiſſaphernes* replyed, Theſe Words will I deliver to the King, and bring unto you his Anſwer. Let the Truce ſubſiſt during my Abſence, and we ſhall exhibit a Market to you. The next Day he returned not to the *Græcians*, which was the Occaſion of ſome Concern unto them. But on the third Day, he came and told them, That he had prevailed with the King to grant him the Lives of the *Græcians*, though he had been oppoſed therein by many, who alledged, that it was derogatory to the Honour of the King, to diſmiſs thoſe in Safety that had taken up Arms againſt him. And now, added he, we are ready to give Pledges of our Fidelity, that you ſhall receive no Hoſtilities from the Countries through which you ſhall paſs, nor Treachery from us in our Conducting you into *Greece*: That you ſhall have the Privilege of a Market from us, and, when we fail to keep a Market for you, you ſhall be at Liberty to ſupply yourſelves from the Country, in which you ſhall chance to be. On the Contrary, you ſhall give us Aſſurance by an Oath, that you will march peaceably through our Dominions, offering no Violence thereunto. That you will pay for your Proviſions, on Condition, that we attend you with a Market, but if we do not, that you will take no more than ſhall ſuffice for your Meat and Drink. Theſe Articles were agreed on and ſworn to; and, in Confirmation of them, *Tiſſaphernes* and the Brother of the Queen enterchanged their Right-Hands with the *Græcian* Generals and Captains. Then *Tiſſaphernes* addreſſed them thus, I muſt now go to the King, and,

and, when I have diſpatched what is neceſſary, and gotten all things in a Readineſs for our Departure, I ſhall come hither in order to conduct you into *Greece*, and return to my own Government.

After this, the *Græcians* and *Ariæus*, expecting *Tiſſaphernes*, continued in ſeparate Camps, at a ſmall Diſtance from each other, for more than 20 Days. During this Time, the Brothers and other Relations of *Ariæus*, with ſome other *Perſians*, carried to *Ariæus* Aſſurances from the King, of an Indemnity for himſelf, and for the whole Army, and an Amneſty of their Engagements with *Cyrus*, and of all their paſt Offences. And henceforward the Troops of *Ariæus* manifeſted a leſs Regard for the *Græcians*, at which many of the Soldiers were diſpleaſed, and expreſſed their Reſentments to *Clearchus*, and the other Generals in this Manner. What do we propoſe to ourſelves by continuing here? Have we not great Reaſon to aſſure ourſelves, that the King hath nothing more at Heart, than how to deſtroy us, in order to deter the reſt of the *Græcians* from taking up Arms againſt him? And he now protracts our Departure, becauſe his Forces are diſperſed in various Places, but, as ſoon as they are all aſſembled, he will not fail to fall upon us. Even now perhaps he is ſurrounding us with a Trench or Wall, to render our Retreat impracticable, for he will never willingly condeſcend to diſmiſs us ſafe into *Greece*, where we may make this Report, that, although we were but a Handful of Men, we baffled the whole Power of the King, even at his Palace Gates, and in Defiance of him procured our Return. To this Remonſtrance *Clearchus* made Anſwer, All theſe Things are frequently the ſub-

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ject of my Thoughts; but if we depart at this Time, I am afraid, that it will be alledged againſt us, that we have made War our Choice, and that our Departure is an Infringement of the Truce. Beſides in the firſt Place, there will be no Market, to which we may have Recourſe, to ſupply ourſelves with Grain. We ſhall alſo be deſtitute of a Guide to conduct us; and on the Inſtant, that we put this in Execution, *Ariæus* will ſeparate himſelf from us, we ſhall not have a Friend left to aſſiſt us, and even thoſe which we had before, will turn our Enemies. What other Rivers are in our Way I know not; but that we cannot paſs the *Euphrates*, if the Enemy oppoſes our Paſſage, is very obvious. Moreover in Caſe of an Engagement, we are deſtitute of Cavalry, whereas the Enemy is provided with an excellent Body of Horſe, ſo that we cannot, even though Victorious, deprive of Life one of our Enemies? On the contrary, if we are defeated, not a Man of us can eſcape out of their Hands. I cannot therefore ſee any Reaſon, why the King, ſupported with ſuch numerous Forces, and bent on our Deſtruction, ſhould ſwear to a Truce, and call the Gods to be the Witneſſes of his Perjury, by infringing his ſolemn Aſſurances, both to the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. He ſpoke a great Deal more to the ſame Purpoſe, and in the mean Time arrived *Tiſſaphernes* with the Forces under his Command, in Appearance to return to his Provinces. (*b*) *Orontes* alſo,

(*b*) This *Orontes* for a falſe Accuſation againſt *Tiribazus*, fell afterwards in Diſgrace, whereupon he uttered this memorable Saying. That Favourites reſemble Fingers in Counting; for as they ſometimes ſtand for an Unite, ſometimes for a Thouſand, ſo a Favourite is to Day of great Value, and to Morrow of none.

alſo, who had married one of the King's Daughters, attended him with his Forces. Hence the *Græcians* ſet out on their March, *Tiſſaphernes* going on before, and keeping a Market for them; and *Ariæus* with the *Barbarians*, that had ſerved under *Cyrus*, joined Camps with *Tiſſaphernes* and *Orontes*. This created a Jealouſy in the *Græcians*, and, depending on their own Guides, they marched ſeparately by themſelves, and conſtantly encamped at the Diſtance of a Paraſang from the *Barbarians*. They alſo kept a ſtrict Eye over each other, as if they had been at open War; and this ſerved to render the Jealouſy mutual. The Soldiers alſo of the two Armies, when they chanced to cut Wood, or to Forage, or to be employed about any ſuch thing at the ſame Place, frequently came to Blows, ſo that this alſo created Animoſities between them. On the third Day of their March, they came to the Wall of *Media*, through which they paſſed. The Wall was built with Brick, and cemented with *Aſphaltus*. It was in Breadth 20 Foot, and in Height an Hundred. By Report, it reached 20 Paraſangs, and its Diſtance from *Babylon* was not great. Hence they marched eight Paraſangs in two Days, and croſſed two Canals. Over the firſt was laid a Bridge of Stone, and on the other a Bridge conſiſting of ſeven Ships. The *Tigris* ſupplies with Water theſe Canals, whence they cut through the whole flat Country Drains, which gradually decreaſe, 'till they End in the Size of thoſe Furrows, which the *Gracians* cut in their Field of Millet.

About 15 Furlongs on this Side of the *Tigris* lies *Sitace*, a large and populous City. The *Græcians* encamped without the Walls, near a large pleaſant Park, ſhaded with Trees of various Kinds.

Here

Here the *Græcians* loſt Sight of the *Barbarians*, who paſſed over the *Tigris*. – But, as *Proxenus* and *Xenophon* were after Supper walking without the Camp, a certain Perſon came and enquired from the Out-Guards where *Proxenus* or *Clearchus* might be found, but made no Mention of *Menon*, though he had been Gueſt to *Ariæus*. *Proxenus* making Anſwer that he was the Perſon enquired for, the Man ſaid, *Ariæus* and *Artabazus*, of unqueſtionable Zeal for *Cyrus*, and Affection toward you, have ſent me to you, conjuring you to look to yourſelves, and keep a ſtrict Watch, leſt your Camp be attacked by Night, for there is a formidable Army of *Barbarians* in the adjoining Park. They alſo adviſe you to place a Guard at the Bridge over the *Tigris*, for *Tiſſaphernes* intends to break it aſunder this Night, to prevent your Paſſage, and ſhut you up between the River and the Canal. On this they carried the Man to *Clearchus*, and communicated the Subſtance of his Meſſage to him. This put *Clearchus* into the greateſt Perplexity and Conſternation imaginable; but a young Man, who was preſent, having carefully weighed the Meſſage, ſaid, That to attack the Camp, and break down the Bridge, were Deſigns inconſiſtent with each other; for added he, in Caſe of an Attack, the Aggreſſors muſt neceſſarily defeat or be defeated. If they are victorious, where lies the Neceſſity of breaking aſunder the Bridge? For, although there were Bridges many in Number, there is no Poſſibility, that a Flight can be of any Service to us. But, if we get the better, by breaking aſunder the Bridge, they deprive themſelves both of the Advantage of a Flight, and the Poſſibility of receiving Aſſiſtance from the other Side of the River. This gave Occaſi-

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on to *Clearchus* to enquire from the Meſſenger, concerning the Extent of the Lands, that lay between the *Tigris* and the Canal. To this he replyed, that they contained ſeveral Villages, and conſiderable Cities. By this Anſwer they penetrated into the Deſign of the *Barbarians*, who had ſent this Man with theſe private Inſtructions, being apprehenſive, leſt the *Græcians* would not paſs the Bridge, but ſeize on the Iſland which was defended by the *Tigris* on the one Side, and by the Canal on the other. And, as the intermediate Country was very fertile, and of large Extent, and inhabited by labouring People, they could not want Neceſſaries; and it would moreover become a Place of Refuge for all the Malecontents. After this they placed a Guard at the Bridge, and retired to their Reſt. But, by the Report of the Guard, the Enemy made no Offers to advance towards the Bridge, or the leaſt Feint of an Attack from any Quarter. The next Day early in the Morning, they paſſed the Bridge, conſiſting of 37 Ships, with all imaginable Caution, having received Intelligence from ſome *Græcians* in the Army of *Tiſſaphernes*, that he was determined to fall on them in their Paſſage; but this Advice alſo proved falſe. *Glous* indeed was ſent with a Party to obſerve whether the *Græcians* paſſed the River; and when he ſaw that they were actually paſſing over, he immediately rode off. In four Days they marched 20 Paraſangs from the *Tigris* to the River (*i*) *Phyſcus*, which is a Plethron broad.

(*i*) Mr. *Whiſton* not finding in theſe Parts any other River that could anſwer his paradiſiacal Theory, whimſically enough imagines this to be the *Piſon* of the Scripture, and that the Name is in ſome Meaſure preſerved in the River *Phyſcus*.

Over it was laid a Bridge, adjoining to which lay a large City called *Opis*. Here the Baſtard Brother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, with a great Army, raiſed about *Suſa*, and *Ecbatane*, in order to aſſiſt the King, met the *Græcians*, and, making an Halt, he took a full View of the *Græcians* as they marched by him. *Clearchus* * led on the Army, drawn up with two only in Front, making frequent Haltings, and when the Van halted, the whole Army was conſtrained to halt alſo, ſo that the *Græcians* made the Appearance of a large Army, and ſtruck a Terror into the *Perſian*. Continuing their March for ſix Days, they proceeded 30 Paraſangs through the Deſerts of *Media*, to the Villages of *Paryſatis*, the Mother of *Cyrus* and the King. Theſe *Tiſſaphernes*, by way of Inſult to *Cyrus*, gave up to the *Græcians* to be plundered entirely, the taking of Priſoners excepted. The Country was well ſtocked with Corn, Sheep, and other Neceſſaries of Life. Hence, keeping the *Tigris* on their Left-Hand, they advanced in 5 Days 20 Paraſangs through a Deſert Country. On the far Side of the River, oppoſite to the Place, where they pitched their Camp on the firſt Day, lay a large and wealthy City called *Cane*. The Inhabitants carry on a Trade with Bread, Cheeſe, and Wine, which they export in (*k*) Boats, covered with Hides.

After

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* This was an excellent Deſign of *Clearchus*, to ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy, and a Proof of his great Ability. For by this means, computing ſix Feet between each Rank, the *Grecian* Army reached more than five Miles in Length.

(*k*) We have in the 1ſt Book of *Herodotus* an Account of the Nature of theſe Veſſels, *viz.* That they are ſhaped in

After this, they came to the *Zabatus*, a River four Plethrons broad, and halted there three Days. At this Time were various Surmiſes, but no open Proof of any treacherous Deſigns. *Clearchus* therefore thought it adviſeable to have a Conference with *Tiſſaphernes*, to allay, if poſſible, theſe Jealouſies before they ſhould break out into open Hoſtilities. He ſent therefore to *Tiſſaphernes*, to demand a Conference, which was readily complyed with; and at that Interview, *Clearchus* ſpoke in this Manner. I am ſenſible, *Tiſſaphernes*, that we are bound by mutual Oaths, and Right-Hands enterchanged, not to offer any Injury one to the other. Yet I perceive you guarding againſt us as againſt Enemies; and we alſo, obſerving your Caution, put ourſelves upon our Guard againſt you. But not being able after the moſt exact Scrutiny, to find out, that you have any Intention to do us a Miſchief, and being ſatisfied in my own Mind, that we have not the leaſt Thoughts of injuring you, I judged a Conference neceſſary to remove, if poſſible, this mutual Diſtruſt of each other. For I have experienced, that where mutual Fears have ſubſiſted through falſe Informations or unreaſonable Jealouſies, that one Party by endeavouring to obviate Evils to themſelves, have committed irreparable Miſchiefs on thoſe who never

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form of a Buckler, and compoſed of Skins, which are extended on the Ribs of the Boat, which Ribs conſiſt of Willows. The Boats they fill with Merchandize, and two Men ſtanding upright with long Poles, the one pulling to, the other thruſting from himſelf, direct the Courſe of the Boats, which have one or more Aſſes on Board, in Proportion to their Bulk. The Goods and the Ribs of the Boat they ſell, and return by Land with the *Hides* on their Aſſes. For by Reaſon of the Rapidity of the River, they cannot ſail back againſt the Stream.

ver intended them the leaſt Injury. Thinking therefore that ſuch Miſtakes might be beſt corrected by a Conference, I come to give you full Aſſurance, that your Diſtruſt of us is very unreaſonable. For our ſolemn Appeals to the Gods, (which ſhould greatly weigh with us) reſtrain us from being Enemies one to the other. And in my Opinion (*l*) whoever is wilfully guilty of a Breach of thoſe Oaths, ſo far trepaſſes againſt his own Happineſs. For no Swiftneſs can outſtrip, nor Darkneſs conceal, nor Strength of Fortifications protect any one from the Vengeance of the immortal Gods; but every Place is ſubject to their Power, and their Dominion reacheth equally every where. And theſe are my Sentiments of Oaths and the Gods, in whoſe Hands we have depoſited our Truce. But of all Things here on Earth, I deem you our greateſt Good. For by your Aid all Difficulties of the Roads are removed, all Rivers become paſſable, and no Scarcity of Proviſions is felt by us. But deſtitute of your Aſſiſtance we ſhall travel like Men in the Dark, (for we are unac-

(*l*) Theſe are as noble Sentiments of a divine Being as we meet with in any of the Heathen Moraliſts. Such exalted Notions in a Pagan, manifeſt indeed, that the Dominion and Knowledge of God reach every where, and that every Heart is ſubject to his Power. There is beſides ſomething ſo peculiarly grand in this Expreſſion, in depoſiting the Truce in the Hands of the immortal Gods, that I queſtion if any Thing in all Antiquity is equal to it. Nor can there be imagined a greater Check and Reſtraint againſt Perjury than theſe Sentiments of Oaths. The Gods are hereby made the Truſtees, and Guarantees of the Articles ſworn to, and are in Juſtice obliged to render back the Truſt depoſited in their Hands pure and untouched, or to puniſh the Infringer, and right the Injured. And by a Violation of the Articles whereto they have ſworn, the Tranſgreſſors mock the Guarantee, and ſet at Defiance the Omnipotence of the divine Being.

unacquainted with the Way) in paſſing every River Difficulties will occur, every confuſed Multitude will fill us with Terrors, and the Deſerts full of Barrenneſs, will be a moſt frightful Proſpect to us. And ſhould we in a raging Fit of Anger kill you, what elſe is it than murdering our Benefactor, and ſetting the great King at Defiance to be your Avenger? I will alſo repreſent to you the mighty Hopes of which I bereave myſelf, in offering any Injury to you. I was ambitious to ingratiate myſelf into the Favour of *Cyrus*, as he ſeemed in my Judgment to have the greateſt Abilities, of exceeding in Beneficence toward whom he pleaſed. And I now behold you not only Maſter of the Power and Provinces of *Cyrus*, added to your own Government, but alſo ſupported by the King's Authority, which was ever averſe to the Deſigns of *Cyrus*. Who therefore is ſo void of common Senſe, as not to court your Friendſhip? I ſhall alſo lay before you the Reaſons which induce me to believe that you will be a Friend to us. I am not ignorant that the *Myſians* are troubleſome to you; and I doubt not but with the Forces under my Command, to conſtrain them to make their Submiſſion to you. I am alſo aſſured that the *Piſidians* are no leſs troubleſome; and I am informed that there are other Nations the ſame; and I ſhall, if I am not miſtaken, deprive theſe of the Power of giving any Diſturbance to your Tranquillity. And in my Opinion you cannot pitch on Auxiliaries more capable of chaſtiſing the *Egyptians*, to whom you bear the greateſt Enmity. Beſides your Ability of doing friendly Offices to the neighbouring Nations would be very great; and in Caſe they give you Offence, you may chaſtiſe them as your Slaves, by our

Means

Means, who will be ſubſervient to your Commands, not for the Sake of our Pay, but out of Gratitude for the Preſervation of our Lives. When I reflect on theſe Things, it ſeems to me wonderful, that you ſhould have any Diffidence of us. And I ſhould be glad to hear the Name of that Perſon, whoſe Eloquence is ſo prevalent, as to perſuade that we entertain ill Deſigns againſt you.

This was the Speech of *Clearchus*, and thus *Tiſſaphernes* replyed, I am truly delighted, O *Clearchus*, hearing the Prudence that comes from your Mouth; and that you are convinced, that in deſigning any thing to my Prejudice, you muſt appear an Enemy to your own Intereſt. But to give you an Inſight of the Injuſtice attending a (*m*) Diffidence of the King or myſelf, I ſhall obſerve this much to you. Had we any Intention of taking away your Lives, do you think that we ſtand in need of Horſe or Foot, to deſtroy you without the Hazard of expoſing ourſelves to ſuffer any thing again from you? Or are there no Places that can give us an Advantage in falling on you? How many Champain Countries, in Amity with us muſt you with vaſt Fatigues and Dangers paſs through?

(*m*) In all the Editions which I have ſeen, it is in the Greek Ἀποστάντες, *To revolt*. But what Revolt could *Tiſſaphernes* mean? Were theſe *Gracians* ſubject either to the King or him? He had doubtleſs in his View that Diſtruſt which the *Gracians* had conceived of him, and which *Clearchus* had mentioned in the preceding Speech. And by ſhewing the Unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a Diſtruſt, he intended to render the *Gracians* negligent and careleſs, and thereby pave the Way for his intended Treachery. And for this Reaſon, I am perſuaded that the true Reading is ἀπιστῆτε, *If you have any Diffidence*. And this certainly is more agreeable to the Intent of the whole Speech.

through? How many Mountains are there even before your Eyes, which it is in our Power to ſecure, and render impaſſable to you? How many Rivers are there, that may give us an Opportunity of culling you out by Parcels, and engaging with whatever Number we pleaſe? And there are ſome of theſe Rivers, which you cannot by any means paſs over without our Aſſiſtance. But ſhould we be defeated in all other Deſigns, we can call to our Aſſiſtance, Fire, which is Miſtreſs of all the Fruits of the Earth, and ſetting theſe in Flames, reduce you by Famine; againſt which your Courage will not be of any Significancy. Since then ſo many various Ways of deſtroying you, without any Danger to ourſelves, occur to us, Why ſhould we ſelect from among ſo many Expedients this one, which alone is impious in the Eyes of the Gods, and diſhonourable in the Sight of Man, and is the laſt Shift of Men in Diſtreſs, void of every Contrivance, to extricate themſelves from Danger; abandoned Men, who, rather than fail in their Deſigns, would ſucceed at the Price of Perjury, and Breach of Faith? We are not, O *Clearchus*, ſo deſtitute of Senſe or Reaſon? But why did we not attempt your Deſtruction when to effect it was no Crime? Be aſſured, that it proceeded from my earneſt Deſire to prove a faithful Friend to the *Græcians*, promiſing my ſelf, that my good Offices toward you would as ſtrongly engage you to return with me, as your Pay from *Cyrus* did to aſcend hither with him. Of the ſeveral Ways wherein you can be ſerviceable to me, ſome you have mentioned, but I am conſcious of one more, which I judge the Principal

cipal. It is (*n*) the King's Prerogative to wear his Tiara erected on his Head, but another whose Intereſt you embrace, may perhaps with great Facility wear his Tiara erected on his Heart, *Clearchus* was ſatisfied with the outward Sincerity of his Diſcourſe, and replyed, and ſaid, Are not theſe therefore, who by ſiniſter Suggeſtions, create Miſunderſtandings between ſuch Friends, deſerving of the moſt rigorous Treatment? *Tiſſaphernes* replyed, If your Generals and Captains will come unto me to Morrow, I will freely diſcover the Perſons who have done you thoſe ill Offices, in ſuggeſting that you had formed treacherous Deſigns againſt me and my Army. *Clearchus* anſwered, I ſhall not fail to bring them all, and ſhall alſo make known thoſe Perſons from whom I receive thoſe Informations againſt you. After this *Tiſſaphernes*, embracing him, entreated him to ſtay, and entertained him at Supper.

The next Day *Clearchus* returned to the Camp; and the good Opinion he had conceived of *Tiſſaphernes* was viſible to every one; and he related the Diſcourſe that had paſſed between them. He alledged, that they were under a Neceſſity of going to *Tiſſaphernes*, as he had deſired, that the Authors of thoſe falſe Surmiſes might be convicted and puniſhed as Traitors, and Perſons diſaffected

(*n*) The Kings of *Perſia* wore the Point or Cone of their Tiara erect or ſtanding upright, the reſt of the *Perſians* with the Point inclining toward the Forehead. But the declared Heir to the Crown, had the Privilege of wearing it in the ſame Manner as the King. We learn from *Ariſtophanes*, that the Point of the Tiara ſtood like the Comb of a Cock; for that Author in his Comedy of Birds, tells us, that the Cock ſtrutted, and carried his Comb erected like the Tiara of the *Perſian* King. He there calls the Tiara *Cyrbaſia*, and *Dionyſius* declares that the *Cyrbaſia* roſe in Form of a Cone,

ed to the *Grecian* Intereſt. He had a Sufpicion that *Menon* had been the Forger of theſe Calumnies, having been aſſured, that he had formerly a Conference with *Tiſſaphernes* in the Tent of *Ariæus*; and was forming a Party underhand againſt him, to ſet himſelf at the Head of the *Grecian* Army, as a Means to ingratiate himſelf with *Tiſſaphernes*. On the other Hand, *Clearchus* ſtudied to engroſs the Affections of the whole Army, and removed all thoſe who repined at his Authority. Some of the Army would not concur with his Meaſures, but oppoſed the Going of the Generals and Captains, and the putting any Confidence in *Tiſſaphernes*. But *Clearchus* ſtruggled hard to obtain his Deſign, and at laſt prevailed that five Generals, and twenty Captains ſhould wait on *Tiſſaphernes*; 200 alſo of the Soldiers went thither under Pretence of going to the Market. As ſoon as they came to the Tent of *Tiſſaphernes*, theſe Generals, *Proxenus* of *Bœotia*, *Menon* of *Theſſaly*, *Agias* of *Arcadia*, *Clearchus* of *Lacedæmon*, and *Socrates* of *Achæa* were admitted into the Tent; but the Captains waited at the Door; and in a ſhort Time the Generals were ſecured, and on a (*o*) Signal given all thoſe without were cut in Pieces. Then a Party of Horſe ſcouring the Plain, put to the Sword all the *Grecians* they could light on, whether Freemen or Slaves. The *Grecians* obſerved from their Camp the Party of Horſe, ſcouring the Plain, and were in great Doubts concerning the Reaſon of it, till *Nicarchus* of *Arcadia*, who had eſcaped with

(*o*) This Signal was the Hanging out of a purple Flag from the Top of the Tent of *Tiſſaphernes*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*.

Life, but was wounded in the Belly, came with his Bowels in his Hands, and related the Truth of what happened. On this the *Grecians*, in the greateſt Conſternation, ran to their Arms, being afraid that the Enemy would with all their Forces attack the Camp: But only *Ariæus*, *Artabazus*, and *Mithridates*, all of ſingular Zeal to *Cyrus* when alive, came attended with a Guard of 300 armed *Perſians*, and, by the Report of the Interpreter, the Brother of *Tiſſaphernes* was with them. When they were near the Camp, they required, that if there was either General or Captain of the Army living, that he ſhould come out and receive the Commands of the King. Then *Cleanor* of *Orchomenos*, and *Sophænetus* of *Stymphalus*, attended with a ſtrong Guard, went out to them. *Xenophon* of *Athens* alſo accompanied them, to enquire after the Fate of *Proxenus*. *Chiriſophus* was not at this Time in the Camp, but gone with a Party to a Village for Grain. When they were within hearing, *Ariæus* ſpoke thus, *Clearchus*, O Men of *Greece*, being convicted of Perjury, and a Violation of the Truce, hath received the Reward due to his Crimes, and is dead; but *Proxenus* and *Menon*, who detected his Perfidiouſneſs, have the greateſt Honours conferred on them. The King alſo demands your Arms, alledging, that they are now his Right, as they formerly belonged to *Cyrus*, who was his Vaſſal. To this *Cleanor* of *Orchomenos* made the following Anſwer in the Name of the *Grecians*. Art thou not aſhamed, O *Ariæus*, thou baſeſt of Mortals, and you that formerly profeſſed yourſelves Friends to *Cyrus*, have you no Regard either to the Gods or Men, in as much as you ſwore to look on our Friends or Enemies as the ſame to yourſelves, and are now attempting

attempting to betray us to *Tiſſaphernes*, the moſt irreligious and deceitful of all Mankind. And now, when you have murdered thoſe to whom you plighted your Faith by ſolemn Oaths, you are treacherouſly betraying us that ſurvive them, and are come with our Enemies againſt us. To this *Ariæus* replyed, *Clearchus* hath been convicted of the firſt Attempt of Treachery againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, *Orontes*, and all of us. Then *Xenophon* added this Obſervation: If *Clearchus* hath been Guilty of an Infringement of the Truce, contrary to his Oath, he hath deſervedly ſuffered for his Crime; for Death is a juſt Recompence to the Perjured. But we deſire that *Proxenus* and *Menon*, who have deſerved well at your Hands, and are our Generals, may have the Liberty of coming to us; for without Doubt, as they are Friends both to us and yourſelves, they will adviſe the beſt for the common Good of both. The Barbarians having conſulted a long while together in private, rode off without making any Reply. The Generals having been ſecured in this perfidious Manner, were carried to the King and there beheaded.

Clearchus, who was one of the five, by the Confeſſion of all thoſe who had any Acquaintance with him, had a great Capacity for War, and was extremely addicted to it. For he ſtuck cloſe at Home while the War ſubſiſted between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*; and on the Concluſion of a Peace he perſwaded his City, that the *Thracians* were Enemies to *Greece*; and, having with hard Struggling prevailed on the *Ephori*, he put to Sea with a Fleet, in Order to make a Deſcent on the *Thracians* above the *Cherroneſus* and *Perinthus*. After he had put to Sea, the *Ephori* altered

tered their Reſolutions, and ſent a Meſſenger after him to recall him from the *Iſthmus*; but he paid no Obedience to their Orders, continuing his Courſe to the *Helleſpont*. Upon this the Magiſtracy of *Sparta* paſſed Sentence of Death on him for Diſobedience to their Orders. Being an Exile from his Country, he flies to *Cyrus*, and inſinuates himſelf into his Favour by Methods which we have mentioned in another Place. And, when *Cyrus* made him a Preſent of 10,000 *Darics* he did not give himſelf up to an indolent Life, but, with the Sum raiſing an Army, he carried on a War againſt the *Thracians*, beat them in ſeveral Encounters, and continued to harraſs and plunder the Country, till he drew off his Forces to accompany *Cyrus* in his Expedition.

Theſe are the Characteriſticks of a Man addicted to War, that he makes War his Choice, when he can enjoy Peace without Loſs of Honour or Diſadvantage to himſelf; that he prefers the Fatigues of War to a Life of Inaction; and even chuſes a moderate Gain in the Field, when it is in his Power to make his Fortune without running himſelf into any Dangers. His Mind was alſo ſo turned to War, that he expended his Money on it with as much Satisfaction as others on Love or any other Diverſion; Nor was this Temper of his Mind more conſpicuous in any Thing, than in his courting of Dangers, and his Eagerneſs to encounter the Enemy by Night or Day. His Prudence never failed him in the greateſt Exigencies, as all thoſe who have any where ſerved under him can teſtify. It is reported that no one could be a better General in the Manner which he purſued; nor was any one more capable either of finding out or executing

Expedients

Expedients to ſupply an Army with Neceſſaries. He had alſo the Talent of infuſing into his Soldiers a Regard for his Orders; and this he effected by his Severity, for he had a Sourneſs in his Aſpect, and a Harſhneſs in his Voice, and always chaſtiſed with Rigour, and ſometimes with Paſſions; ſo that he ſometimes repented of it too late. But Severity in Puniſhing was the Effect of a ſettled Reſolution; for that Army, wherein a ſevere Diſcipline was not obſerved, he judged to be uſeleſs. And this was a Saying of his, that a good Soldier ſhould ſtand in greater Fear of his General than of his Enemy, whether it conſiſted in diſcharging the Duty of a Centinel, abſtaining to injure his Friends, or marching with Alacrity againſt an Enemy. In all Exigencies the Soldiers payed a ready Obedience to his Orders, and never ſought after another General: for they declared that his ſour Aſpect had at thoſe times the Appearance of Chearfulneſs, and his Sterneſs ſeemed no other than an Undauntedneſs againſt the Enemy; ſo that they looked on thoſe Qualities rather as a Preſervative againſt the Enemy than a Terror to themſelves. But when the Storm was blown over, and every one was at Liberty to ſerve under other Officers, many of his Men deſerted him; for he had not the Art of gaining the Affections of his Soldiers, but on all Occaſions manifeſted a moroſe and cruel Temper; ſo that his Soldiers ſtood affected to him as Scholars to their Maſters. No one ever followed him thro' the motives of Love or Affection; but he kept under the ſtricteſt Diſcipline thoſe who ſerved under him by the Orders of the Common-wealth, or liſted under his Command thro' Want or any other neceſſitous Cauſe. His Succeſſes againſt his Enemies were of wonder-

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ful Uſe in training his Soldiers to the Service; for his Victories animated them with Courage, and the Dread of Puniſhment retained them in the moſt exact Order. Such a Commander was *Clearchus*, and by Report he could not brook a Superior. He was about fifty Years old when he died.

Proxenus of *Bœotia*, when he was a very young Man, was very ambitious of performing great Actions; and prompted by this Deſire he put himſelf under the Tuition of *Gorgias* the *Leontine*. When he thought that by his Leſſons he was qualified for commanding others, to which he hoped his Friendſhip with ſome very great Men would contribute, he fell in with the Meaſures of *Cyrus*, in Hopes they would prove the Means of acquiring to himſelf Reputation, great Authority and Riches. But, notwithſtanding his ambitious Temper, it was viſible from his Behaviour that he would uſe no vile Practices to compaſs his Deſigns, but that he thought that they ſhould be effected by juſt and honourable Methods only. He was capable to diſcharge the Duty of a General at the Head of an Army compoſed of honeſt and virtuous Soldiers; but he was not Maſter of the Art of ſtriking a Reverence or Fear into the Minds of his Followers; but he ſtood in greater Awe of his Troops than his Troops of him, and it was manifeſt that he was more afraid of incurring the Odium of the Army, than the Soldiers were of diſobeying his Orders. And he thought that by beſtowing Praiſe or Diſpraiſe according to the Merits of his Men, he ſhould both diſcharge the Duty and gain the Character of a good Commander. Theſe Qualities acquired him the Affections of the good and virtuous

virtuous Part of the Army, but left him expoſed to the Snares of the Wicked. He was about 30 Years old when he died.

(*p*) *Menon* of *Bœotia* was an open and a paſſionate Lover of Money; he coveted Power that he might enrich himſelf the more, and was ambitious of Honour, as it might prove lucrative to him. He ſtudied to wind himſelf into the Affections of great Men, that their Power might be a Screen to his Injuſtice. Perjury, and Falſhood, and Deceit he judged the compendious Road to compaſs his Deſigns: And Simplicity and Truth were in his Eyes the ſame with Folly. He had manifeſtly a real Love for no one, and where he pro-

ſeſſed

(*p*) Mr. *Dacier* brings a heavy Charge againſt *Xenophon* for this Character of *Menon*, and alledges that this frightful Deſcription proceeded from his Intimacy with *Plato*, who had inſcribed his Name to a Treatiſe concerning Virtue. He aſſerts that *Xenophon*'s Enmity to *Plato* diſpoſed him inſenſibly to receive all Reports againſt *Menon*, and that his pretended Treachery is ſo far from being proved, that on the contrary he is juſtified by his Death. But Mr. *Dacier*, rather than the Judgment of his darling *Plato*, in the Choice of his Friends, ſhould be called in Queſtion, gives us Room to arraign his own Judgment in deciding ſo injudiciouſly in this Particular; for the Simplicity and Veracity which are ſo conſpicuous through all the Works of *Xenophon*, with the concurrent Teſtimony of all the Antients, will acquit *Xenophon* of any Diſingenuity in his Writings. And the Manner of *Menon*'s Death far from clearing him of this Crime, is a Proof of his Treachery. For what other Motive than a Deteſtation of his perfidious Actions, ſhould induce the King to treat him for a whole Year in a moſt ignominious Manner, and at laſt put him to a diſhonourable Death. Sure he was not a greater Enemy to the King than the other Generals. And I cannot perſwade myſelf that *Xenophon*, as ſincere a Man as ever lived, would have appealed to the World for his Veracity in drawing this Character, had he not had the moſt indiſputable Proofs of the Truth of what he aſſerted.

feſſed a Friendſhip, there, it was evident, he ſet his Engines at Work. He never derided the meaneſt Enemy, but he always talked of his Friends with Contempt. His Deſigns were never levelled againſt thoſe that were on their Guard; and he thought himſelf the only Perſon that knew, that the Poſſeſſions of Friends ſtand expoſed as a moſt eaſy and unguarded Prey. Men regardleſs of their Oaths or of Juſtice he ſtood in Fear of, as Perſons well armed with offenſive Weapons; but Men of Piety and Veracity he judged a weaker Kind, and attempted to make his Uſes of them. The Pleaſure, that others find in Actions of Religion, Truth, and Juſtice, the ſame he reaped from his Power of deceiving, framing Lies and ridiculing his Friends. He looked on the Man that was not a Knave as no better than a Fool. Where he affected the prime Place in Friendſhip, there he ſtudied to inſinuate himſelf by calumniating the reigning Favourites. He deviſed to render his Soldiers obedient by linking himſelf in a Conjunction of Guilt with them; and he required Reſpect and Attendance from them, by manifeſting, that he had both the Ability and Inclination to do them Miſchief. And when any one left his Standard, he declared that that Man ought to deem it a Favour, that he did not ruin him while he was in his Service. I might be accuſed of want of Veracity in relating Uncertainties; but theſe are things known to all the World. When he was very young he obtained the Command of the *Mercenaries* under *Ariſtippus*; and the *Baſis* of the ſtrict Friendſhip between *Arieus* (who was a Barbarian) and him was the Inclination of the former for handſome Youths. And while he was yet a beardleſs Youth, he lived in an infamous

Manner

Manner with one *Tharypas* a full grown Man: Tho' he was equally criminal in fighting againſt the King, as the other Generals who were put to Death, yet he ſuffered not at the ſame Time; tho' at laſt he fell a Victim to the King's Revenge, but ſuffered not ſo honourable a Death as *Clearchus* and the reſt, who were beheaded, but after a whole Year's ignominious Treatment he died in ſuch a Manner as his Villanies deſerved. *Agias* of *Arcadia* and *Socrates* of *Achæa* were likewiſe put to Death. No one could charge them with Cowardice in the Field, or caſt a Blemiſh on their Behaviour towards their Friends. They were each about forty Years of Age.

THE

ASCENT

OF

CYRUS the Younger, &c.

BOOK III.

WE have related at large in the preceding Books the Tranſactions of the *Græcians*, in their Aſcent with *Cyrus*, until the Battle was fought, and the various Incidents in their Retreat with *Tiſſaphernes*, under a Ceſſation of Arms after the Death of *Cyrus*.

The Seizure of the Generals, and Loſs of the Captains and Men that attended them, ſtruck the *Græcians* with the greateſt Conſternation; they reflected, that they were even at the Palace of the King, amidſt many Nations and Cities that were their Enemies, deſtitute of a Market, whence they might ſupply themſelves with Proviſions, more

more than 10,000 Furlongs from *Greece*, in want of Guides to direct them, debarred of a Paſſage into their native Country by unpaſſable Rivers, betrayed and deſerted by the *Barbarians* that had ſerved with them under *Cyrus*, and without Cavalry to ſupport them in Caſe of an Engagement. So that it was evident, that though they ſhould prove victorious, their Purſuit could not in the leaſt annoy the Enemy; but if they ſhould be defeated, not a Man of them could eſcape. Diſpirited at theſe Reflections, and deſpairing of Safety, few only in the Army taſted Meat that Evening, few kindled Fires, and few of the Soldiers repaired to the Guard. Every one laid him down in the Place where he chanced to be at Night, but they could not reſt, ſo great was their Grief and Deſpair of ever ſeeing their Country, their Wives, and their Children. And in this Perplexity they paſſed the whole Night.

There was in the Army one *Xenophon* of *Athens*, but he had not the Command either of a General or Captain, nor did he ſerve as a common Soldier. But *Proxenus*, who was his Friend from an ancient Hoſpitality between their Families, had invited him from his native Country, and promiſed to recommend him to the Friendſhip of *Cyrus*, which he doubted not, would prove of greater Advantage to him than his own Country. *Xenophon* communicated this Letter to *Socrates*, and asked his Advice whether he ſhould go. *Socrates* ſuſpecting that a Friendſhip with *Cyrus* might ſeem criminal in the Eyes of the Republick, becauſe *Cyrus* had with great Readineſs aided the *Lacedæmonians* in their War againſt *Athens*, adviſes *Xenophon* to conſult the Oracle at *Delphos*. *Xenophon* went thither, and enquired from *Apollo* to whom of the

the Gods he ſhould offer up his Sacrifices and Vows, that his intended Enterprizes might be carried on with moſt Succeſs, Honour and Safety. *Apollo* anſwered to the (*a*) Gods to whom Sacrifices are due. At his Return, he communicated the Anſwer of the Oracle to *Socrates*, who blamed him, that he had not propoſed to the Oracle whether it was more adviſeable to go or ſtay, but that being reſolved in his own Mind to go, he had enquired by what Means his Reſolution might be attended with moſt Honour. But ſince added he, you have adviſed with *Apollo* on that Head, you ought to follow the Advice of the God. *Xenophon*, having ſacrificed to the Gods enjoined by *Apollo*, embarks, and finds *Proxenus* at *Sardis* with *Cyrus*, ready to ſet forward on his March for the upper Provinces. He was recommended by *Proxenus* to *Cyrus*, and they both were very urgent to have him accompany them; and *Cyrus* promiſed that he ſhould receive his Diſcharge at the End of the Expedition, which he gave out, was intended againſt the *Piſidians*. Thus he engaged himſelf in that Enterprize, being indeed impoſed on, though not by *Proxenus*; for neither *Proxenus*, nor any other *Gracian*, excepting *Clearchus*, knew that theſe Preparations were deſigned againſt

(*a*) *Xenophon* in his 6th Book, expreſly declares, that *Jupiter* the *Sovereign*, was one of the Gods enjoined by *Apollo*. But there is alſo Reaſon to believe, that by the Oracle was likewiſe underſtood *Jupiter Milichius*, *i. e.* the Propitious, by whoſe Favour it was believed, that a Deliverance from Dangers and Evils was obtained: And a Feſtival called *Diaſia* was inſtituted at *Athens* in Honour of this God. Moreover, *Xenophon* in his laſt Book, imputes all his Dangers to his Neglect of ſacrificing to this God, and writes, that from the Time he renewed his Sacrifices, he had no Reaſon to complain of the God.

againſt the King; but, when they were advanced as far as *Cilicia*, it was evident that they were marching againſt the King; and though they were apprehenſive of the Event, and unwilling to proceed, yet they were aſhamed to abandon both one another and *Cyrus*. *Xenophon* alſo was in the Number of thoſe who thought after this Manner.

He bore a Share in the general Perplexity, and could not enjoy any Reſt; but having fallen into a ſhort Slumber, he dreamed that he ſaw a Flaſh of Lightning fall on his Father's Houſe, and ſet it in a Blaze. He immediately ſtarted up in a great Fright, and interpreted the Dream, to portend partly Good, as he ſaw a great Light come from *Jupiter*, when he was in Diſtreſs and Danger. On the other Hand, as the Dream ſeemed to be ſent by *Jupiter*, the King of the Gods, he was afraid leſt that a Retreat out of the Territories of the King might be impoſſible, and that he might be ſurrounded on every Side, with Difficulties of one Sort or other. The true Portent may be eaſily diſcerned from the Occurrences ſubſequent to the Dream. As ſoon as he awoke, he began to reflect with himſelf in this Manner, To what Purpoſe do I lie here? The Night waſtes away, and at Break of Day the Enemy will probably fall on us. And if we fall into the Hands of the King, what can we expect but the moſt cruel Inſults, ſevere Tortures, and in the End an ignominious Death? But here we lie ſupine and regardleſs of our Defence, as if to remain unmoleſted were at our own Election. From what City then have I Expectations of a Leader to effect theſe Things for me? What Number of Years do I propoſe to myſelf to arrive

at?

at? Doubtleſs, I have not one Day longer to live, if I ſurrender myſelf into the Hands of my Enemies. On this he ſtarts from his Bed, aſſembles the Captains of the Battalion of *Proxenus*, and ſpeaks to them in this Manner. Men and Captains, the Senſe of our preſent Circumſtances will not ſuffer me to cloſe mine Eyes (and I believe that your Condition is the ſame) nor even lie any longer in my Bed; for doubtleſs our Enemies had not committed theſe open Hoſtilities, unleſs they had imagined, that their Preparations were anſwerable to their Deſigns. But not one of us is vigilant in providing for a brave Defence. And what Treatment do we expect, by ſubmitting and delivering ourſelves into the Hands of the King, who, when the Partner of his Blood, both by the ſame Father and Mother, was ſlain in Battle, ordered the (*b*) Head and Right Hand to be cut off, and the Body hung on a Croſs? What then will be the Fate of ourſelves, who have taken up Arms againſt him, and made the greateſt Efforts poſſible to reduce him from Sovereignty to Servitude, and to take away his Life, and who have not a Friend to intercede with him for us? Will he not cauſe the moſt ignominious Puniſhments to be inflicted on us, in Order to deter others for the future from taking up Arms againſt him? We muſt therefore make the ſtrongeſt Efforts to keep ourſelves from falling into his Hands. During the Truce, I never ceaſed deploring our own unhappy Circumſtances,

(*b*) This was the uſual Cuſtom among the *Perſians* of treating Rebels after their Death. They thought it not enough to take away their Lives, but they uſed their Corps in a moſt ignominious Manner, and hanged it on a Croſs, as a Spectacle, in Order to deter others from ſuch treaſonable Practices.

cumſtances, and looking even with Envy on the Happineſs of the King, and his Courtiers, Lords of Territories of wonderful Extent and Fertility, poſſeſſing in Plenty all the Neceſſaries of Life, Maſters of an infinite Number of Slaves and Cattle, with Gold and magnificent Robes at their Command. On the Contrary, when I turned mine Eyes on our Army, and reflected, that Money alone entitled us to part of theſe good Things, and moreover, conſidered that few of us had wherewithal to purchaſe them; my Apprehenſions from the Truce were greater than my preſent Fears from the War. Since therefore they have releaſed us from the Truce, they have alſo in my Opinion releaſed us from their Inſults, and our own Apprehenſions; for all theſe good Things lie in the Liſts between the Combatants, as Prizes to the Victors; and the Gods, who are the Judges of the Controverſy, are engaged on our Side; for our Enemies have been guilty of Perjury againſt the Gods; but we from a Regard to our Oaths, have with a Firmneſs of Mind abſtained from touching any of the good Things that were before our Eyes. So that we ought to rouſe ourſelves, and enter the Liſts with greater Reſolution than our Enemies. Beſides our Bodies are more capable of ſuſtaining both Cold, and Heats, and Fatigues; and, I thank the Gods, our Souls alſo are of a more noble Kind. On the Contrary, their Bodies are more ſuſceptible of Wounds, and Death, if the Gods grant us the Victory as before. But theſe perhaps have likewiſe been the Reflections of others. Let us not therefore, I conjure you by the Gods, wait for Exhortations to rouſe us to ſuch glorious Actions; but rather let our Example be an Incitement to others. Behave

have yourſelves now as moſt worthy Captains, and more than meriting the Command of Generals. And, if you reſolve to go in Purſuit of ſuch noble Deeds, I am ready to follow you. But if you command me to lead the Way, I ſhall not make my Age an Excuſe to decline the Charge, but rather judge my Vigour a Bulwark againſt Fatigues and Danger.

This was his Speech, and all the Captains concurred in electing him to be their Leader, *Apollonides*, excepted who delivering himſelf in the *Bœotian* Dialect, declared, That to talk of preſerving their Lives by any other Means, than obtaining their Pardon from the King was babbling to no Purpoſe; and at the ſame Time, he began to mention a thouſand Difficulties; but *Xenophon* interrupted him in this Manner. O moſt wonderful Man, thou art ignorant of what thou ſeeſt with thine own Eyes, and what thou heareſt with thine Ears thou doſt not remember. Thou waſt preſent as well as thoſe here, when the King, puffed up with the Death of *Cyrus*, ſent his Commands to us to ſurrender our Arms. But on our Refuſal to ſurrender them, and taking up our Quarters in Arms at a ſmall Diſtance from him, what did he not? He ſent Ambaſſadors humbly requeſting a Truce, and offering to ſupply us with Neceſſaries till the Truce ſhould be ratified. And when our Generals and Captains, confiding on the Truce, went to a Conference, unarmed, after the Manner as thou adviſeſt us, were they not ſcourged, whipped and inſulted? Nor can theſe unfortunate Men obtain even the Favour of dying, though they earneſtly deſire it. Theſe Things thou art conſcious of, yet thou calleſt thoſe Bablers, who give their Advice to fence againſt the Enemy, and

wouldſt perſuade us to go again unto them in order to appeaſe their Anger. In my Opinion, O Men, this Fellow ſhould not be admitted to enjoy the ſame Privileges with us; but let us caſhier him of his Command, and uſe him as a Slave to carry our Baggage. For he is a Diſgrace to his Country, and even to all *Greece*, that being a *Græcian* he demeans himſelf after this Manner. Then *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, taking up the Diſcourſe, ſaid, This Fellow is in nothing related to *Bœotia*, or any other Part of *Greece*, for I have ſeen his Ears, (*c*) and they are bored like the Ears of a *Lydian*. And this indeed was true. They therefore turned him out of the Camp.

Then the other Captains going through the ſeveral Diviſions of the Army, where the General was alive, called him out, but if he was dead, then his Lieutenant General, and all the Captains that had eſcaped the Treachery of the Enemy. And when all the Officers were aſſembled, they ſat down before the Guard, and the Number of the Generals and Captains preſent at the Aſſembly was about one hundred. It was about Midnight when theſe Things were tranſacted. Then *Hieronymus* of *Elis*, the eldeſt Captain in the Troops of *Proxenus*, ſpoke to the Council in this Manner, When

(*c*) *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, that *Xenophon* uſed to jeer *Apollonides* with the Holes in his Ears. Whence he had this Account I cannot imagine, for here *Xenophon* himſelf puts this Diſcourſe in the Mouth of his Friend *Agaſias*. And he could not be acquainted with him after that, for he was turned out of the *Græcian* Camp. This boring of the Ears was a token of Slavery, derived from the *Jews* to the Eaſtern *Pagans*. it was not in Uſe in *Greece*, and conſequently *Apollonides* could not be a Native *Græcian*, but was perhaps a Native of *Aſia*. that was taken a Captive by ſome of the *Græcians*, and lived in *Bœotia*.

When we reflected, O Generals and Captains, on our preſent Circumſtances, we judged it expedient to aſſemble ourſelves, and invite you to our Councils, that we may conſult together, if poſſible we may hit on any Expedient for our Advantage. And do you, O *Xenophon*, repeat the Diſcourſe, which you made to us. Then *Xenophon* began. We are all but too ſenſible, that the King and *Tiſſaphernes* have ſeized on as many of our Companions as they could get into their Power, and their treacherous Contrivances to deſtroy the Reſt, if poſſible, are very manifeſt. It is therefore my Opinion, that we neglect not any Means whereby we may preſerve ourſelves from falling into the Hands of thoſe *Barbarians*, but rather uſe our utmoſt Efforts to get them into our Power. Be ye therefore aſſured, that this is a moſt critical Juncture to you that ſit here in this Aſſembly; for the Eyes of the whole Army are fixed on you, and their Hearts will fail them if they perceive you in Deſpondency. But if you appear with chearful Looks ready to defend yourſelves and animate others, be aſſured, that they will ſtrive to follow, and animate your Example. (*d* And without Doubt it is no more than reaſonable that you ſhould be more eminent for your Courage, for you are their Generals, their Majors, and their Captains; and in time of Peace you enjoy a greater Share of Riches and Honours, and therefore at preſent, when we are neceſſitated to be at War, you ought to entertain more noble Thoughts, and

(*d*) *Xenophon* in this Place ſeems to have had in his Eye the famous Speech of *Sarpedon* to *Glaucus*, in the 12th Book of *Homer*, when that Prince encouraged his Friend to behave himſelf valiantly in the Fight. The Reader will not think his Labour miſ-ſpent in comparing that Speech with this Paſſage.

and make yourſelves more conſpicuous than the common Soldiers, by your Superiority in adviſing well, and your Readineſs to undergo greater Fatigues. Moreover, in the firſt Place, in my Opinion, an immediate Election of Generals and Captains, in the Room of thoſe you have loſt will be of infinite Service to the Army. For Leaders are the very Soul (in a Word) of every Undertaking, more eſpecially of martial Enterprizes; for Safety ſeems to be the natural Effect of good Order, as we have many Inſtances of Armies that have periſhed through Neglect of Diſcipline.

Having filled up the vacant Places of your Generals, if you then aſſemble your Troops, and by Exhortations animate their Courage, I think you will do all that is neceſſary at this Time. For doubtleſs you have obſerved with what heavy Countenances the Soldiers repaired to their Arms and the Guard. And while ſuch a Damp upon their Spirits continues, I cannot ſee to what Purpoſe it is to employ them on any Enterprize by Night or by Day. But their Courage will revive as ſoon as they come to a Senſe, not only of the Dangers to which they are expoſed, but likewiſe of the Duty required from them in time of Action. For aſſure yourſelves, that neither the Multitude of Force nor the Strength of the Combatants giveth the Victory, but thoſe, whoſe Souls the Gods inſpire with the greateſt Bravery, put their Enemies to the Rout. I have obſerved alſo, O Men, that thoſe who are fond of Life at any Rate in War, generally End their Lives in a ſhameful and ignominious Manner. On the other Hand I have experienced, that thoſe, who reflect that Death is common and natural to all Men, and only ſtrive for an honourable Occaſion of dying, enjoy

enjoy both a greater Share of Happineſs, while they live and reach to a greater Number of Years. It is therefore incumbent on us to reflect on theſe Things, (for ſuch is the Poſture of our Affairs) ſo as to behave ourſelves with the Courage of valiant Soldiers, and to exhort others to follow our Example.

This was the End of his Speech, and after him *Chiriſophus* delivered himſelf in this Manner. I had hitherto, O *Xenophon*, no further Knowledge of you than a bare Hearſay that you was an *Athenian*. But now I commend you for your excellent Speech and Behaviour at this Time; and I wiſh that we had many ſuch as you are, for they would conduce to the publick Good. But, added he, let us make no Delay, but break up the Aſſembly, and where Officers are wanting, let others be ſubſtituted in their Room, and when the Election is ended, repair with the new elected Officers to the Center of the Camp, and we will there convene the whole Army. Let *Tolmides* alſo the Herald attend us. After this the Council broke up, that whatever was neceſſary might be diſpatched without Delay. At the Election of Officers, *Timaſion* of *Dardania* was choſen in the Room of *Clearchus*; *Xanthicles* of *Achæa* ſucceeded *Socrates*, *Cleanor* of *Orchomenos* *Agias* of *Arcadia*, *Phileſius* of *Achæa* *Menon*, and *Xenophon* of *Athens* *Proxenus*. The Day was near dawning, when the Election ended, and the Officers met at the Place appointed. Here they came to a Reſolution to place an advanced Guard, and convene the Army. When all the Soldiers were come together, *Chiriſophus* the *Lacedæmonian*, ſtanding up, ſpoke to this Effect. My Fellow Soldiers, the Loſs of ſuch able Officers, and private Men, give a me-

a melancholy Proſpect to our preſent Affairs. We are moreover deſerted by *Arieus*, and the Troops under him, who were formerly our Confederates. Nevertheleſs, we ought to behave as becometh Men of Bravery, to force our Way through theſe Difficulties, and not to faint under them, but ſtrive for the Preſervation of our Lives by an honourable Victory. If this cannot be obtained, let us at laſt by an honourable Death put ourſelves out of the Power of our Enemies, leſt we undergo ſuch dreadful Puniſhments, as I wiſh the Gods may may turn upon the Heads of our Enemies. After him *Cleanor* of *Orchomenos* roſe from his Seat, and ſpoke in this Manner. You are Witneſſes, O Men, of the Perjury and Impiety of the King: You have before your Eyes the Perfidiouſneſs of *Tiſſaphernes*, who declared that he was a Neighbour to *Greece*, and had our Preſervation much at Heart; and though he ſolemnly ſwore to the Truth of theſe Things, and gave us his Right-hand as a Pledge of his Sincerity, he hath baſely deceived us, and ſeized upon our Leaders. And not in the leaſt revering *Jupiter* the Protector of Gueſts, hath circumvented *Clearchus* (*e*) who had eaten with him at the ſame Table, and hath involved him in the ſame Snare with the reſt. *Arieus* alſo, to whom we made a Tender of the imperial Crown, with

(*e*) The Ties of Hoſpitality were exceeding ſtrong among the Antients, for they were poſſeſſed with an Opinion, that all Strangers were more immediately under the Protection of the Gods, who were ready to revenge any Injuries offered to them. The Ties of Conſanguinity yielded to thoſe of Hoſpitality, and whoever offered any Violence to a Gueſt that had ſat at the ſame Table with him, was deemed guilty of the moſt impious Action, and not to ſtand in awe of the Gods.

with whom we interchanged Pledges of Fidelity not to deſert one another, neither regarding the Gods, nor reſpecting *Cyrus*, from whom he received immenſe Honours, hath deſerted us and gone over to the Enemies of his Benefactor, and now aims at the Ruin of us who were his Friends. But may the Gods requite them according to their Deſerts. We therefore, who have thoſe Things before our Eyes, ought to fence againſt their Treachery, and exerting our Courage in Battle ſubmit to the Will of the Gods. Then *Xenophon* ſtood up dreſſed in his beſt military Habit, believing that the moſt graceful Ornaments would ſuit beſt with Victory, if by the Will of the Gods he proved victorious; or, if it was the Will of the Gods that he muſt die, he thought himſelf worthy to meet his Death in the moſt glorious Apparel. He made them an Harangue in this Manner. *Cleanor* hath laid before you the Perjury and Perfidiouſneſs of the *Barbarians*, which I believe are well known to you. And if, confiding on their Friendſhip, we conſent to another Interview with them, when we have before our Eyes the Sufferings of our Leaders, who, relying on their Fidelity, put themſelves in their Power, we muſt certainly be under the greateſt Deſpondency. But if we have Recourſe to our Arms, and reſolve Sword in Hand to take Vengeance on our Enemies, and for the future annoy them by all hoſtile Methods poſſible, we have, with the Help of the Gods, many and fair Hopes of Safety. While theſe Words were in his Mouth, one of the Aſſembly ſneezed, and the whole Army with one Accord worſhipped the

(*f*) God

(*f*) God. Then *Xenophon* went on in this Manner, ſince, my Fellow Soldiers, this Omen offered from *Jupiter* the Saviour in the Inſtant that we were making Mention of our Safety, it is my Opinion that we vow to ſacrifice to that God Victims for our Deliverance, as ſoon as we ſet our Feet in a Country friendly to us; and that we alſo join in a Vow, to ſacrifice to the other Gods according to our Ability; and, added he, let thoſe who concur in this hold up their Hands. And all held up their Hands. Then they made their Vow, and ſung a Hymn to the Gods. Having diſcharged their Duty to the Gods, he went on to this Effect. I was telling you that we have many and well grounded Hopes for the Preſervation of our Lives. For in the firſt Place we keep our Oaths to the Gods inviolate; but our Enemies not regarding the Truce they made, nor the Oaths they have ſworn have been guilty of Perjury. And as this is the Caſe, it is but juſt that the Gods (*g*) who

(*f*) Biſhop *Potter* in his *Greek* Antiquities, following the Authority of *Caſaubon*, in expounding this Place, tells us, that the Soldiers worſhipped the God of ſneezing, and that there was a God who particularly cauſed ſneezing. But had *Caſaubon* or *Potter* ſeriouſly conſidered this Paſſage, they had not made this erroneous Aſſertion. For *Xenophon* only ſays, that they, with one Accord worſhipped the God; and in the Words following expreſſly declares that this God was *Jupiter* the Saviour, by whom they believed that this fortunate Omen was ſent; and they immediately joined in a Vow to ſacrifice to that God on their Entrance into a friendly Country. And we find in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, that, purſuant to this Vow, they did ſacrifice to *Jupiter* the Saviour.

(*g*) This is a Sentiment full of Sublimity and Grandeur, and of an exact Conformity with ſome Expreſſions we meet within the ſacred Writings. Through this whole Narration, there ſeems a continued Vein of Piety, and the moſt juſt and exalted Thoughts of a divine Being.

who are able to humble the Mighty, and with Eaſe raiſe thoſe in low Eſtate from the Midſt of Dangers, ſhould join in Battle with us, and fight againſt our Enemies. And here I ſhall take Occaſion to put you in Mind of the Perils of your Progenitors; that you may ſee how incumbent on you it is to exert your Courage, and how brave Men are delivered by the Gods, even from the greateſt Dangers. For when the *Perſians* and their Allies, with a vaſt Multitude invaded *Greece*, deſigning to extirpate *Athens*, the *Athenians* met them in the open Field, and obtained a glorious Victory. And having vowed to offer in Sacrifice to *Diana* as many Goats as they ſhould kill *Perſians*; when they could not procure ſo great a Number, they paſſed a Decree to offer (*h*) an annual Sacrifice of 500. And theſe Victims are ſacrificed even at this Day. After this *Xerxes* with numberleſs Forces made a Deſcent into *Greece*; when our Anceſtors prevailed over the Anceſtors of thoſe Men both by Sea and Land. And of this the Trophies erected are ſufficient Teſtimonies; but the ſtrongeſt Teſtimony is the Liberty of thoſe Cities, in which you received your Birth and Education. For you pay Adoration to the Gods alone, and not to a mortal Sovereign. Such indeed were your Forefathers from whom you are deſcended; but I ſpeak not this as if you were ſhamefully degenerated from them. For not many Days ſince you engaged in Battle with the Offſpring of thoſe Men whom your Anceſtors

 conquered;

(*h*) This Anniverſary Sacrifice was called Ἀγροτέρας θυσία the Sacrifice of the Huntreſs. This Vow was made by *Callimachus*, who was Polemarch of the *Athenian* Army, at the Time of this Invaſion of the *Perſians*.

conquered, and though they were many Times your Number, yet by the Help of the Gods you put them to Flight, and then you behaved yourſelves like valiant Men to obtain an Empire for *Cyrus*; but ſince the preſent Conteſt is for your Lives, your Courage and Alacrity ſhould be raiſed, and your Confidence againſt the Enemy increaſed. At that Time you exerted your native Courage againſt an infinite Multitude entirely unknown to you. What Cauſe then for Fear can be aſſigned, when you know by Experience, that, though they are many Times your Number, they will not ſuſtain your Charge? Neither are you to think the Worſe of yourſelves, that the Troops of *Cyrus*, that formerly engaged on your Side have deſerted you. For they are even inferior in Courage to thoſe we defeated. They have, 'tis true, deſerted you, and fled to the Enemy; but I would rather ſee Cowards, who are always ready to begin a Flight, take Part with an Enemy, than poſted in your Ranks. But if any of you are dejected that our Enemies abound with Cavalry, of which we are deſtitute, let thoſe conſider, that 10,000 Horſe-men are no more than 10,000 Men. For no one ever fell in a Battle by a Bite or a Kick received from an Horſe, but whatever Miſchief is done, is cauſed by the Rider. Moreover, we are more firmly mounted than Cavalry, for they hang on their Horſes, and are afraid not only of our Weapons, but alſo of falling from their Beaſts. But we who have firm Footing on the Ground, can throw our Weapons with a greater Force, and direct them with a ſurer Aim againſt our Enemies. And they have the Advantage of us in this Reſpect only, that a Flight is more ſafe to them than to us. But ſuppoſing your Courage in Fight againſt

againſt the Enemy to be unqueſtionable, yet you are under a great Concern, that you are neither to expect *Tiſſaphernes* to be your Conductor, nor to be ſupplyed with a Market from the King. Conſider then, whether to be under the Guidance of *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe perfidious Treachery againſt us is notorious, be more advantagious than to impoſe that Task on any whom we can ſeize, giving them to underſtand, that if they act unfaithfully toward us, they act unfaithfully toward their own Lives. And whether, to depend on a Market exhibited by them to us, purchaſing a ſmall Quantity at a great Price, which it is not in our Power to give, is preferable to that Liberty acquired by Conqueſt of meting out our Proviſions according to our own Wills. Now ſuppoſing you ſatisfied, that in theſe Reſpects the Advantage is turned to our Side; yet you imagine, that you will arrive at Rivers impaſſable, ſo that you will be greatly expoſed to the Snares of your Enemies. But I would have you reflect, whether the *Barbarians* have not acted very fooliſhly even in this. For if the Rivers are impaſſable at a Diſtance from their ſources, yet nearer their Springs we may eaſily ford them, the Water not reaching to our Knees. But ſuppoſing that the Rivers are at all Places impaſſable, and that we are alſo deſtitute of a Guide, yet there is no Reaſon for Deſpondency. For we are not ignorant that the *Myſians*, who are not to be put in Competition with ourſelves for Courage, maugre the King, poſſeſs in his Territories many large and populous Cities. We know that the *Piſidians* alſo do the ſame. And we have ſeen how the *Lycaonians*, having made themſelves Maſters of ſome ſtrong Holds in the Plains, reap the Fruits of this Man's Dominions. It is my Opinion

nion therefore, that we diſcover no Signs of a Preparation for our Return into *Greece*; but make a Feint, as if we intended to take up our Settlement in this Country. For I am well aſſured, that the King would give many Guides to conduct the *Myſians* out of the Country, and many Hoſtages for a ſincere Performance of his Faith; nay would even ſend them away in Chariots if they demanded them. And I am perſuaded, that he would grant us the ſame, if he heard that we were making Preparations to ſettle here. But I am afraid, that the Experience of an idle luxurious Manner of living, and an Intimacy with the well-bodied beautiful Wives and Daughters of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, will diſpoſe us to forget our native Country, like thoſe who eat of the (*i*) *Lotus*. It therefore ſeems juſt and reaſonable to me, that a Return into *Greece*, and to our Relations be attempted before all Things, that we may manifeſt to the *Grecians* that their Poverty is voluntary, ſince the meaner Citizens, tranſplanted here, might become Maſters of great Riches. For theſe good Things, O Men, are doubtleſs the Property of the Victors.

I muſt now lay before you the proper Means for obtaining a ſecure March, and regulating our Conduct in Caſe of an Engagement. And in the firſt Place, I think it neceſſary to burn all our Carriages, that we may not make our Baggage, but the Advantage of the Army, the

(*i*) We have a Deſcription of this Tree, in the 4th Chap. of the 13th Book of *Pliny*'s natural Hiſtory. He tells us that the Fruit of the *Lotus* is ſo pleaſant, that Strangers, who taſted of it, were enticed thereby to be too forgetful of a Return to their native Country. *Homer* gives a beautiful Account of the Effect of its Fruit, in the 9th Book of his *Odyſſeis*.

the Guide of our Rout. We muſt moreover ſet Fire to our Tents; for they are cumberſome on a March, and of no Service either in annoying the Enemy, or procuring Neceſſaries to ourſelves. We muſt likewiſe caſt away all ſuperfluous Utenſils, and retain thoſe only that are neceſſary for War, our Victuals, or our Drink, to the End that we may have as many Hands as poſſible under Arms, and as few taken up about our Baggage. For if you are defeated, be aſſured you muſt give up all to the Enemy, but if we get the Better of the Enemy, we may look on them as Beaſts of Burden to carry our Baggage. I come now to the laſt Thing neceſſary, and that in my Opinion of the greateſt Importance. You ſee that our Enemies had not the Courage to make any Attempt on us, till they had ſeized our Leaders, rightly judging, that we ſhould be ſuperior to them in Fight, while we had Commanders, and practiſed Obedience to their Orders. But they thought, that if they deprived us of our Leaders, we ſhould ſoon periſh through Anarchy and Diſorder. It is incumbent therefore on the preſent Leaders to be more vigilant than their Predeceſſors; and it is the Duty of every private Man to be obſervant of good Diſcipline, and active to obey his Superiors. And if you make a Decree, that the commanding Officer, and one more of you preſent, ſhall have a diſcretionary Power of inflicting Penalties on thoſe who refuſe to obey Orders, our Enemies will be greatly diſappointed, and they will this very Day, inſtead of one *Clearchus*, behold 10,000, who will not ſuffer any one to be guilty of Cowardice. But it is now Time to put an End to this Diſcourſe, for the Enemy perhaps will be here immediately; let whatſoever

whatſoever therefore I have delivered worthy your Notice be inſtantly ratified, that we may put it in Execution. But if any one preſent can give better Advice, let him deliver it freely, though a private Man; for the publick Safety ought to be an equal Concern to us all. Then *Chiriſophus* ſpoke in this Manner, If *Xenophon* hath omitted any thing requiſite to be done hereafter, we may provide for it, whenever it ſhall occur. But I think it very proper, that what he hath now laid before us be inſtantly confirmed by a general Vote. Let thoſe therefore who approve of it hold up their Hands. And all held up their Hands. Then *Xenophon* ſtanding up, ſpoke again in this Manner. You ſhall hear now, O Men, thoſe Things, which in my Opinion we are to expect. It is very manifeſt, that we muſt bend our Courſe, where we may be able to procure Subſiſtance. And I am informed, that there are conſiderable Villages not more than 20 Furlongs diſtant from our Camp. I ſhould not then be ſurprized if our Enemies, like Cur-Dogs, who run after and bite the Heels of Paſſengers, but turn Tail whenever they are purſued, hang on our Rear in our Retreat. Our March therefore perhaps will be expoſed to the leſs Danger, if we form ourſelves into a Square, within the Hollow of which, as in a Place of Security, we may lodge our Baggage-Bearers and unarmed Multitude. And if we now aſſign the Command of the Square, and determine who ſhall lead the Front, and to whoſe Care the Wings and Rear ſhall be committed, we ſhall not be taken up in Councils, when the Enemy is coming on us; but with Readineſs put our former Reſolutions in Execution. If better Advice occurs, let it by all Means be purſued, otherwiſe let *Chiriſophus*, as he

he is a *Lacedæmonian*, command the Van, let two of the eldeſt Generals take Care of each Flank, let the Charge of the Rear be given to *Timaſion* and myſelf, who are the youngeſt Generals. If any one can give better Advice, let him freely deliver it; but no one oppoſing his Advice, he ſaid, whoever approves of theſe Things, let him hold up his Hand. Theſe Propoſals were confirmed by a Decree. Now, added he, we muſt go and put our Reſolves in Execution; and if any one here is deſirous of ſeeing his Relations, let him be mindful to behave as a valiant Man, otherwiſe he will not obtain his Deſire. And if any one here is fond of Life, let him aſpire to Victory, for the Victorious deal Slaughter, but Death is the Lot of the Vanquiſhed. And if any one covets Riches, let him aim at Conqueſt, for Conquerors not only preſerve their own Treaſures, but alſo make themſelves Maſters of the Fortunes of the Conquered.

After this the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the Soldiers ſet Fire to their Carriages and Tents. Part of the ſuperfluous Baggage was diſtributed among thoſe that wanted, the Reſt was caſt into the general Flames. When they had effected this, they took their Dinner; during which *Mithridates*, with 30 Horſe, came to the Camp, and having called the Generals within hearing, he addreſſed them in this Manner. My Fidelity to *Cyrus*, O Men of *Greece*, was, as you very well know, unqueſtionable, and my Affection for you moſt entire. And at preſent my Concern for you is very great. And if I was ſatisfied, that you propoſed to yourſelves any Means of Safety, I would come over to you with all my Attendants. Communicate therefore your Deſigns to me as to your Friend,

Friend, and Will-wiſher, reſolved to proceed henceforward in Conjunction with you. The Generals, having conſulted together, returned this Anſwer by *Chiriſophus*. We are reſolved, if a free Paſſage be granted to us, to proceed forward on our Return for *Greece*, moleſting the Country as little as poſſible; but if we are oppoſed in our March, our Reſolution is to fight our Way with the greateſt Courage. On this *Mithridates* took Occaſion to ſhew how impracticable it was to ſave their Lives, maugre the Inclination of the King. By this they were convinced, that the Man was really to be ſuſpected. He was moreover attended by one of the Domeſticks of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was ſent to be a Spie on him. And therefore the Generals thought it expedient, to paſs a Decree, that they would admit no Meſſages relating to a Truce, while they ſhould continue within the Dominions of their Enemies. For thoſe that had Acceſs to the Camp, debauched the Minds of the Soldiers, and inveigled *Nicarchus* of *Arcadia*, a Captain with 20 of his Men, who under the Cover of the Night went over to the Enemy.

After this, having finiſhed their Dinner, they paſſed the River *Zathes*, and proceeded on their March, in Order of Battle, with their Baggage, and unarmed Multitude in the Center. They had not advanced far, till *Mithridates* came in Sight again with 200 Horſe, and 400 Archers and Slingers very nimble and expedite; and advanced toward the *Græcians* in a friendly Manner. When they came up cloſe with the *Græcians*, the Horſe diſcharged their Bows, and the Foot their Bows and Slings, and wounded ſome of the *Græcians*. The Rear was galled very much, but could not annoy

annoy the Enemy again; for the *Cretan* Bows ſhoot not their Arrows as far as the *Perſian* Bows; and the Archers, having no Armour, retired behind the Ranks of the heavy-armed. Neither could the Javelin-Men with their Weapons reach the Slingers of the Enemy. In this Caſe *Xenophon* thought it beſt to ſally out upon the Enemy, with the heavy-armed Troops and Targeteers of the Rear-Guard; but he could not take any of the Enemies Priſoners; for the *Græcians* had no Cavalry, and their Infantry could not overtake the Enemies, that had the Start of them, by a ſhort Purſuit, and it was not ſafe to leave the Main-Body at too great a Diſtance. The *Barbarian* Horſe alſo in their Flight wounded ſome of the *Græcians*, (*k*) inceſſantly darting their Arrows behind them. And as far as the *Græcians* gave Chace to the Enemy, ſo far they were under a Neceſſity in their Retreat of maintaining a running Fight. So that the whole Progreſs of this Day was no more than 25 Furlongs. But at Evening they gained the Villages.

Here the whole Army was in great Deſpondency. *Chiriſophus* and the oldeſt Generals blamed *Xenophon*, for leaving the Groſs of the Army, to purſue the Enemy, thereby expoſing himſelf to Dangers, without a Poſſibility of annoying the Enemy. *Xenophon* replyed, That the Event of

 his

(*k*) The *Perſians* greatly excelled in the Art of ſhooting with the Bow, and with their Horſe full ſpeed, darting behind them, could with the greateſt Dexterity, hit a ſmall Mark. The *Parthians* were their Succeſſors in this Art, or perhaps thoſe very Horſe might be of the ſame Nation with the ſucceeding *Parthians*. *Virgil* in his 3d *Georgic* calls the *Parthian*, *fidentem fugâ verſiſque ſagittis*, and *Horace* in his 9th Ode, *verſis animatum equis*.

his Purſuit teſtifyed, that they had juſt Grounds to blame him. But, added he, as we were ſore galled, by keeping our Ranks, and the Enemy ſuffered nothing from us, the Diſpute was unequal, and to ſally out was unavoidable; and when we did break out on the Enemy, the Iſſue of our Purſuit was ſuch as you alledge. For we were not by theſe Means in a better Condition to annoy the Enemy, and our Retreat was attended with great Difficulties. Thanks therefore are due to the Gods, that they came not with greater Forces. For by a trifling Loſs we are inſtructed in thoſe Things, wherein we are deficient. Now our Enemies diſcharge their Bows and Slings from a Diſtance, where the *Cretans* with their Arrows cannot reach them. Our Javelins alſo are ſpent to no Purpoſe. And if we ſally out, it is not ſafe to purſue them far from the Groſs of the Army: and though our Foot are ever ſo nimble, they cannot in a ſhort Purſuit overtake the Enemy, if they get but the Start of a Bow-ſhot before them. The only way therefore to ſecure ourſelves from ſuffering in our March, is to make an immediate Proviſion of Slingers and Cavalry; and, I am informed, that there are in the Army ſome *Rhodians* trained up to the Sling, and that their Slings ſhoot twice as far as the Slings of the *Perſians*; for theſe throw Stones that fill the Hand, but the *Rhodians* uſe Bullets of Lead. If then we make an Enquiry, and offer Rewards in Money to thoſe, who have either Slings in a Readineſs, or are willing to make new Slings; and then form them into a Company of Slingers, with the Indulgence of ſome Privileges, they may perhaps prove of great Service to us. I obſerve alſo War Horſes in the Army, ſome belong to myſelf, others were left by

by *Clearchus*, and many more we have taken from the Enemy, and turned to Baggage Horſes. If therefore we chuſe out the beſt of theſe laſt mentioned, ſupplying their Places with worſe, and mount Riders on them, they will perhaps annoy the Enemy in a Flight. They all approved of this Advice, and the ſame Night 200 provided themſelves with Slings, and the next Day they made up 50 choice Horſe, armed with Caſſocks and Breaſt-Plates; and gave the Command of them to *Lycius* of *Athens*, Son of *Polyſtratus*.

This Day they halted, and early the next Morning proceeded on their March. In the Road was a deep Hollow, which they could by no Means avoid, and they were afraid of being aſſaulted by the Enemy in their March through it. But they had already paſſed it, when *Mithridates* came in View with a 1000 Horſe, and 4000 Archers and Slingers. Theſe he had obtained from *Tiſſaphernes* whom he aſſured, that with a Party of that Strength, he would deliver the *Græcians* into his Hands. For his Succeſs in the former Skirmiſh, had raiſed in him a Contempt of the *Græcians*, in as much as he imagined, that though he had but a ſmall Party, he had greatly annoyed them, and had ſuſtained no Loſs. The *Græcians* were not above 8 Furlongs beyond the Hollow, when *Mithridates* with his Troops entered into it. The Targeteers, heavy armed Troops and Horſe, aſſigned to oppoſe the Enemy, had ſtrict Orders to be very warm in the Purſuit, for a ſtrong Party was ready to ſecond them, if they were hard preſſed by the Enemy. *Mithridates* being come up with the *Græcians*, and within Reach of the Slingers and Archers; the Signal was given by ſound of Trumpet, the Foot ruſhed out on the Enemy, and the Horſe followed.

followed. The Enemy immediately turned their Backs, and fled full Speed to the Hollow; the *Barbarian* Infantry ſuffered very much in the Flight, and about eighteen of their Horſe were taken Priſoners in the Hollow. The *Græcians* without Orders from their Officers, mangled the Corps of the Slain, to ſtrike the greater Terror into the *Barbarians*, who after this Defeat retired out of Sight, and the *Græcians* continuing their March the reſt of the Day, without Interruption, came to the River *Tigris*, to the City *Lariſſa*, then lying in Ruins, but formerly inhabited by the *Medes*. It was ſurrounded with a Wall 25 Foot broad, and an 100 high. The Circumference was two Paraſangs; the upper Part was built with Brick, but the Baſis for 20 Foot was Stone. (*l*) When the *Perſians* diſpoſſeſſed the *Medes* of their Empire, the King of *Perſia* laid Siege to this City for a long Time to no Purpoſe; but an Eclipſe of the Sun happening during the Siege, the Inhabitants under the Cover of the Darkneſs abandoned the Town, by which Means it fell into the Hands of the *Perſians*. Near this City was a Pyramid built with Stone, it was one Plethron wide, and two high. Hither many of the *Barbarians* had fled from the neighbouring Villages. Hence they proceeded in one Encampment ſix Paraſangs to a deſert Caſtle, lying near a City called *Meſpbila*,

(*l*) Theſe Paſſages entirely deſtroy the Truth of the Hiſtory of the *Cyropædia*, and is a manifeſt Proof, that the Life of *Cyrus* was not intended as a real Hiſtory, but rather as a Model of a perfect Monarch. For *Xenophon* here expreſſly aſſerts, that theſe Cities were taken by Force, and that the *Perſians* diſpoſſeſſed the *Medes* of their Empire, which is contradictory of the *Cyropædia*, wherein *Cyrus* peaceably ſucceeds to the Dominion of *Cyaxares* his Uncle.

Meſphila, of which the *Medes* were formerly Maſters. The Baſis of the Wall, which was built with a foreign (*m*) conchyliate Stone, was 50 Foot broad, and 50 high. On this was raiſed another Wall of Brick 50 Foot broad, and 100 high. The whole Circumference of the Wall was ſix Paraſangs. Hither by Report, *Media*, the Wife of the King fled, when the *Medes* loſt their Empire to the *Perſians*, and that the City ſuſtained a Siege, and could not be taken either by Length of Time, or the frequent Aſſaults of the *Perſian* King, 'till the Inhabitants being ſtruck by *Jupiter* with a panick Fear, ſurrendered the City. The next Day they advanced four Paraſangs, and on this Day *Tiſſaphernes* appeared in Sight with all his own Cavalry, the Forces of *Orontes*, who was married to a Daughter of the King, the *Barbarians* that had ſerved under *Cyrus*, the Troops raiſed for the Aſſiſtance of the King by his Brother, with the Forces alſo which *Tiſſaphernes* had received from the King; ſo that they appeared a very formidable Army. As he advanced near the *Græcians*, he drew up a Party on the Rear of their Army, and another on each Flank; but being loth to run the Hazard of a general Engagement, he attacked them with his Slingers and Archers only. But when the *Rhodian* Slingers, and *Scythian* Archers returned their Charge, and never ſent one Bullet or Arrow in vain (for it was almoſt impoſſible to miſs among ſo great a Multitude) *Tiſſaphernes* retired out of Reach of their Weapons, and was followed by the reſt of the Troops. Then they continued their March the remaining Part of the

(*m*) This Stone was carved after the Manner of a Shell, whence it had its Name, or it might probably be ſo called, becauſe it was of a purple Colour.

the Day; the *Barbarians* hung on their Rear, but never came within Reach of their miſſive Weapons; for the *Rhodians* threw their Bullets farther than the *Perſian* Slingers their Stones, and even than moſt Archers ſhoot their Arrows. The *Perſians* uſe Bows of a large Size, ſo that their Arrows were ſerviceable to the *Gretans*, who by raiſing their Points, darted them to a greater Diſtance. They alſo found in the Villages Strings for their Bows, and Lead, of which they made Bullets. The *Græcians*, having gained the Villages, took up their Quarters in them, and the *Barbarians* having been worſted in the former Skirmiſhes, went off. The next Day the *Græcians* halted, and provided themſelves with Grain, of which they found Plenty in the Villages. Hence they marched through a Champain Country, and *Tiſſaphernes*, hanging on their Rear, kept them in continual Action. And this Day's March gave the *Græcians* an Inſight of the Diſadvantagious Poſture of an equilateral Square, in retreating from an Enemy; for if they were neceſſitated to contract their Wings, either through the Narrowneſs of the Road, the Situation of Mountains, or paſſing over Bridges, the heavy armed Troops were thruſt out of their Ranks, and being thronged and diſordered, marched with great Difficulty, and conſequently their Confuſion rendered them unſerviceable. On the other Hand, when they widened their Wings, thoſe that had been forced from their Ranks, were unavoidably ſeparated from the main Body, and the extreme Parts of the Wings from the Middle which was left empty, and this diſheartned the Soldiers, eſpecially when the Enemy was cloſe at their Heels. Moreover in paſſing a Bridge, or fording a River, every one made what

what Haſte he could to get over the firſt, which gave the Enemy an Advantage of falling on them. The commanding Officers, ſenſible of this Diſadvantage, appointed ſix Companies, each conſiſt- of one hundred Men, under the Command of a Captain, Officers of 50, and Officers of 25 called *Enomotarchs*. When the Wings were contracted, theſe Companies, to prevent Diſorder, marched in the Rear, and led on again without the Wings. But when the Squares were widened, they filled up the empty Spaces in the Middle. If the Separation was very narrow by Companies, otherwiſe by fifties or Enomoties as the Wideneſs of the Space required; ſo that the Middle of the Sides of the Square was always filled up. And they paſſed either Ford or Bridge in ſeparate Companies, ſo that there followed not the leaſt Diſorder, and they rejoined the main Body when it was requiſite to form a compleat Phalanx. And in this Form they marched four Days. On the fifth they came in ſight of a Royal Palace, with ſeveral Villages lying round it. The Road to this Place led acroſs a Range of high Hills, that took their Riſe from a Mountain, at the Root of which the Villages were ſituated: The *Græcians* were overjoyed at the Sight of the Hills, the chief Strength of the Enemy conſiſting in their Cavalry, and having aſcended from the Plain to the Top of the firſt Hill, they deſcended to mount the ſecond. Here the Enemy came up with them, and their Officers compelling the Men by Blows, they powered down Javelins, Stones, and Arrows on the *Græcians*, many of them were wounded, and the Light-armed, being overpowered by the Enemy, were obliged to retire for Shelter within the Phalanx; ſo that the Archers and

Slingers,

Slingers, being ſhut up in the Center with the unarmed Multitude, were of no Service this Day. Being ſorely preſſed by the *Barbarians*, a Party of the Heavy-armed ſallied out, but their Armour rendered the Aſcent extremely fatiguing to them; whereas the Enemy mounted the Hill with Eaſe, and in retreating to the main Body, the *Græcians* were again expoſed to the Enemy. Their March down the ſecond Hill being attended with the ſame Circumſtances, they thought it expedient to keep the third Hill with the Heavy-armed, and to detach a Party of Targeteers from the Right Wing to ſecure the Mountain. The Enemy obſerving the Targeteers on the Eminence above them, and being afraid leſt they might be hemmed in, and their Retreat cut off, moleſted not the *Græcians* in their Deſcent from this Hill. The remaining Part of the Day, the Army continued its March over the Range of Hills, and the Targeteers croſs the Mountain, and having arrived at the Villages, they appointed Surgeons to attend the Wounded, of whom there was no ſmall Number.

Here they halted three Days, both to refreſh their wounded Soldiers, and becauſe they found Proviſions in Abundance. Magazines of Meal and Wine, and great ſtore of Barley for Horſes was laid up in theſe Villages, by Order of the Satrap of the Province. On the fourth Day they deſcended into the Plain, and *Tiſſaphernes* with his whole Army, overtaking them, made them ſenſible of the Diſadvantage of skirmiſhing on a March, and the Neceſſity of taking up their Quarters in the firſt Village. For not only the Wounded were diſabled from fighting, but thoſe alſo who carried them, with thoſe who had the Charge

Charge of the Armour of the Soldiers that attended on the Sick, were detained from ſerving againſt the Enemy. The *Græcians* had ſcarce taken up their Quarters, when the *Barbarians* coming up cloſe to the Village, made an Aſſault with their miſſive Weapons, but were repulſed with great Loſs. For the *Græcians* repulſed the Enemy by Sallies from the Village, with leſs Difficulty, than they could defend themſelves on a March. At Even the *Barbarians* thought proper to retire; for they never encamped at leſs than ſixty Furlongs from the *Græcians*, for Fear of an Attack by Night. Their Manner of encamping alſo expoſes them to the Danger of Aſſaults in the Night time; for they always tie, and ſometimes fetter their Horſes, to prevent them from running away, and on an Alarm their Horſes muſt be ſaddled and bridled, and the Troopers armed, before they can mount their Beaſts, and theſe Things are not readily done in the Night, and amidſt the Confuſion of an Alarm. For this Reaſon they pitched their Camp at a Diſtance from the *Græcians*. The *Barbarians* having now ſounded a Retreat, Orders were given to the *Græcians*, in the Hearing of the Enemy, to hold themſelves in a Readineſs to March. This protracted the Departure of the *Barbarians* for ſome Time, but, when it grew toward Night, they wheeled off, for they were afraid that to March and take up their Quarters in the Dark, would be very incommodious. When the Enemy was entirely out of ſight, the *Græcians* decamped and marched ſixty Furlongs; by which Means they got the Start of the Enemy, ſo much, that they ſaw them again neither on the ſecond or third Day; but the *Barbarians*, having paſſed by them in the Night on the 4th Day, ſecured a very

vantageous Poſt on an Eminence, under which the *Gracians* muſt neceſſarily paſs to deſcend into the Plain. *Chiriſophus* perceiving the Enemy poſted on the Eminence, ſends a Meſſage to *Xenophon*, to advance to the Front with the Targeteers of the Rear. But *Tiſſaphernes* being within ſight of the Rear, *Xenophon* did not take the Targeteers, but, riding up alone to him, demanded the Reaſon of the Meſſage to him. The Reaſon is very obvious, replyed he, for the Hill that commands the Road that leads into the Plain, is in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy, and unleſs we diſlodge them we cannot march by it. But wherefore did you not bring the Targeteers? He anſwered, Becauſe it was not fit to leave the Rear defenceleſs, the Enemy being in Sight. But it is high Time to conſider of Means to diſlodge the Enemy from the Eminence. In the mean Time *Xenophon* having obſerved a high Hill that hung over the *Gracian* Army, and that it had a Communication with the *Eminence*, whereon the Enemy was poſted, ſaid, It is our beſt Way, O *Chiriſophus*, to gain with all poſſible Expedition the Top of that Mountain, for when that is in our Poſſeſſion, the Enemy will not be able to defend their Poſt over the Road. Now either remain with the Army, and I will go with a Detachment to ſecure the Hill, or do you undertake to ſecure the Hill, and I will remain with the Army; *Chiriſophus* anſwered, I give you Liberty to take your Choice. *Xenophon* replyed, That in Regard he was the younger Perſon, he would make the Securing of the Hill his Choice; and, as it would take up too much Time to draw a Detachment from the Rear, he demanded a Party from the Van. *Chiriſophus* ſent with him all the Targeteers of the Van, with 300

choice

choice heavy-armed Soldiers. Then they proceeded with all poſſible Expedition to gain the Hill, but the Enemy on the Eminence, being aware of this Deſign, with great Eagerneſs ſtrove to reach the Summit before them. Then the Armies of the *Græcians* and *Tiſſaphernes* gave each a great Shout, to animate their Companions. *Xenophon* alſo, riding along the Ranks, exhorted his Men in this Manner. Conſider, O Men, that *Greece*, that your Wives, that your Children are the Prizes, for which you now contend, and by a ſhort Fatigue at preſent, you will purchaſe a ſafe Retreat henceforward, without Loſs of Blood. *Soteridas* of *Sicyon* replyed. Our Conditions, *Xenophon*, are widely different, you are carried on Horſeback, and I am ready to ſink under the Weight of my Shield. *Xenophon* hearing this Reply, leaped from his Horſe, thruſt him out of his Rank, and, ſnatching his Shield from him, preſſed forward, though he was armed with the Breaſt-Plate of a Trooper, which was extremely cumberſome to him. He encouraged the Front, to quicken their Pace, and the Rear, who came on very ſlowly, to follow with all Diligence. But the Soldiers never ceaſed ſtriking, puſhing, and reviling *Soteridas*, 'till they had compelled him to take his Shield, and march in his Rank. *Xenophon*, mounting again, led them on Horſeback, while the Road permitted him to ride, but when the Way became impaſſable for a Horſe, he diſmounted and preſſed forward on Foot, and prevented the Enemy in gaining the Summit. The *Græcians* being Maſters of the Mountain, the *Barbarians* turning their Backs, diſperſed themſelves by Flight, and the Troops with *Tiſſaphernes* and *Ariæus* retreated another Way. The Forces under *Chiriſophus*, marching down into the Plain,

Plain, took up their Quarters in a Village that abounded with all manner of Neceſſaries. There were ſeveral other Villages on the Banks of the *Tigris*, well ſtored with variety of good Things. In the Evening, the Enemy appearing on a ſudden ſurpriſed ſome of the Soldiers roaming through the Plain in Queſt of Plunder; for the *Græcians* had intercepted ſeveral Heads of Cattle, that had been brought from the other Side of the River. After this *Tiſſaphernes* made ſome Attempts to ſet Fire to the Villages, and the *Græcians* fearing leſt they might be diſtreſſed for want of Proviſions, if the Villages ſhould be conſumed, were very much caſt down. But *Xenophon*, being deſcended into the Plain, met the Soldiers of *Chiriſophus* returning from the Aſſiſtance of their Companions, and riding along their Ranks he ſpoke to them in this Manner. You ſee, O Men of *Greece*, that our Enemies now acknowledge us to be Maſters of this Country; for they act the Part of Enemies toward thoſe Dominions, which, by one of the Articles of the Truce, they obliged us not to damage by Fire. But wherever they leave Neceſſaries for themſelves, thither ſhall they behold us bending our Courſe. But notwithſtanding, O *Chiriſophus*, it is my Opinion, that we ſhould look on this Country as our own, and obviate the Deſigns of the Enemy to conſume it by Fire. *Chiriſophus* anſwered, I am not of the ſame Opinion, but let us, added he, encreaſe the Flames, and the Enemy will be thereby induced to deſiſt from any further Attempts.

When they had taken up their Quarters, the Soldiers went in Queſt of Neceſſaries, but the Generals and Captains held a Council of War, at which they were in great Perplexity what Courſe

to

to take. For on the Right-Hand were exceſſively high Mountains, and on the Left a River, whoſe Bottom they could not reach with their Spears. While they were yet undetermined what Courſe to take, a *Rhodian* coming into the Aſſembly ſpoke after this Manner. I am willing, O Men, to undertake to tranſport the Army by four Thouſand at a time, if you will provide all Things requiſite for the Undertaking, and give me a Talent in Recompence of my Service: And when they demanded what Things he required, he anſwered, 2000 Leathern Bottles. And, I obſerve, added he, many Sheep, Goats and Oxen, whoſe Skins, blown light with Wind, will give you an eaſy Paſſage. I ſhall alſo ſtand in Need of the Baggage Cords, to tie the Bottles together, and hang Stones at the Bottom of them, in the Nature of Anchors. Theſe I will place croſs the River, ſecuring them by Ropes on each Side. I will alſo lay Planks over them, and cover the Planks with Earth. You will ſoon be ſenſible, that there is no Danger in paſſing over; for each Bottle will ſupport the Weight of two Men, and the Planks and Earth will prevent them from ſliding. The Generals applauded the Man's Invention, but thought it impoſſible to put it in Practice at that Time, there being a Party of Horſe on the other Side of the River, ready to oppoſe the firſt Attempt of that Nature. The next Day they turned back toward *Babylon*, intending to quarter in the Villages that remained undeſtroyed by the Flames; for they had ſet Fire to the Villages they had quitted the preceding Day. The Enemy made no Attempt to moleſt them, but gazed on them as Men ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at their March, and unable to gueſs at their

Deſigns.

Deſigns. When they came to the Villages, the Soldiers ſearched about for Neceſſaries, but the Generals and Captains held another Council of War, and ordering the Priſoners to be brought before them, they made a ſtrict Enquiry of the Countries which lay round them. They replyed, that toward the South lay *Babylon* and *Media*, which they had lately left, toward the Eaſt *Suſa* and *Ecbatane*, where the King ſpent the Spring and Summer. That the Road over the River carried them Weſt toward *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and that the Road croſs the Mountains to the North led to the Country of the (*n*) *Carduchans*. Theſe, they ſaid, inhabited the Mountains, were a moſt warlike People, and independent of the King. And though he had at Times invaded their Country with 120,000 Men, his whole Army periſhed through the extreme Roughneſs of the Ways; but that there was a Commerce carried on between them and the *Perſians*, during the Time that a Truce ſubſiſted between them and the *Satrapa* of the low Countries. The Generals, hearing this, ordered the Priſoners, who had profeſſed themſelves skilled in the Roads, to be kept ſeparate from the reſt, but they did not declare what Rout they intended to take, though they judged it moſt expedient to penetrate croſs the Mountain of the *Carduchans*. For the Priſoners aſſured them, that, when they had paſſed thoſe Mountains, they ſhould arrive at *Armenia*, a Province of large Extent,

(*n*) The *Macedonians* ſoftened the rough Pronunciation of the Name of this People, and called them *Cordueni*, which was afterwards changed into *Gordueni*, and the Country was named *Gordiæa*. Theſe Mountains are a Part of Mount *Taurus*. For *Salmatin*, on *Solinus* tells us, that what ſome call *Taurus*, others name the *Cordyæan* Mountains.

tent, and great Fertility, under the Government of *Orontes*; and that thence-forward they might bend their Courſe as they pleaſed. After this they conſulted Victims for the Time to ſet out on their March (for they were afraid, leſt the Tops of the Mountains might be ſecured) and gave Orders to the Soldiers, that, as ſoon as they had taken their Supper, they ſhould refreſh themſelves with Sleep, and be ready with their Baggage to follow their Leaders at a Minute's Warning.

THE

THE ASCENT OF *CYRUS* the Younger, &c.

BOOK IV.

WE have related at large in our preceding Books, the Tranſactions of the *Græcians*, in their Aſcent with *Cyrus* until the Battle, the various Occurrences after the Fight, during the Truce which the King made with the *Græcians*; the Breach of that Truce by the King and *Tiſſaphernes*, their Attempts to deſtroy the *Græcians*, and the Purſuit of the *Perſian* Army after them.

They were now come to the Banks of the *Tigris*. This River being very deep and broad could not be forded, and, the craggy Mountains of the *Carduchans* hanging over the River, to march along the Banks, was extreamly dangerous. The Generals therefore reſolved to direct their March over the Mountains, being informed by the Priſoners, that, when they had reached *Armenia*, they might either paſs the *Tigris* near its Head, or

taking a larger Circuit paſs above it. They alſo averred, that the *Euphrates* took its Riſe at no great Diſtance from the *Tigris*; and that ſome narrow Paſſes were in their Way. They therefore enter the Borders of the *Carduchans*, in ſuch a Manner, as may beſt conceal their Deſigns, and prevent the Enemy in ſeizing on the Mountains. It was near the laſt Watch, and a ſufficient Part of the Night remained to paſs the Plain under the Cover of the Dark, when the Signal being given to decamp, they ſet out on their March, and reached the Foot of the Mountain by break of Day. *Chiriſophus* led the Van with all the light-armed Infantry, and *Xenophon* brought up the Rear with the heavy armed Troops only, for there ſeemed to be no Danger of an Attack on that Side as they were mounting the Hill. *Chiriſophus* gains the Top before he is diſcovered by the Enemy, and, leading on, with all poſſible Caution, toward the Villages that were ſituated in the Vallies and Windings of the Mountains, was followed with all Diligence by the reſt of the Army. The *Carduchans* abandoned their Habitations, and fled with all their Wives and Children to the Mountains. In the Villages was plenty of all Kinds of Proviſions, which the Soldiers, being in great Want, did not ſcruple to take; their Houſes alſo were well furniſhed with Variety of brazen Veſſels, which the *Græcians* abſtained from touching; they alſo forbore to purſue the Inhabitants, hoping it might induce the *Carduchans*, who were at Enmity with the King, to grant them a free Paſſage through their Country. But the *Carduchans* were deaf to any Parley, neither would they manifeſt any other Sign of Friendſhip. And when the Rear of the *Græcians* was deſcending to the Villages, at which Time

Time it was Dark, (for the Road being very narrow, the whole Day had been taken up, in gaining the Top of the Mountain, and marching down to the Villages) the *Carduchans* attacked them, and with Stones and Darts, ſlew ſome, and wounded many more of the Soldiers. The Number of the *Carduchans* was very ſmall, (for the Entrance of the *Græcians* into their Country was unexpected) and had their Forces been more conſiderable, they had certainly endangered the Loſs of a great Part of the Army.

This Night the *Græcians* took up their Quarters in the Villages, and the *Carduchans* lighted Fires on the Mountains round them; and thus they kept a ſtrict Watch over each other. At Break of Day, the Generals and Captains held a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to diſmiſs all their late Slaves and Priſoners, and take with them thoſe Carriage Beaſts only, that were abſolutely neceſſary for the Baggage, and moſt able to endure the Fatigue of marching; for the Multitude of their Priſoners and Carriages encumbered their March, took off in an Engagement Part of the Troops to guard them, and put them under a Neceſſity of providing and carrying with them a double Quantity of Proviſions. This was confirmed by a Decree, and Orders were given out accordingly. After they had taken their Dinner, they ſet out on their March, and the Officers, ſtanding in a narrow Part of the Road, obliged thoſe, who had any Goods prohibited by the late Decree to lay them down. The Soldiers obeyed their Officers, only ſome few perhaps privately conveyed away a Boy or a genteel Girl, with whom they were in Love. And this Day they continued their March, ſometimes fighting, and at other times having a little

Reſpite

Reſpite. The next Day proved very Stormy, yet, having no Proviſions to ſubſiſt on, they were under a Neceſſity of proceeding forward. *Chiriſophus* commanded the Van, and *Xenophon* the Rear. The Enemies advancing very cloſe in the narrow Paſſes, made a furious Onſet with their Bows and Slings. So that the *Græcians* being conſtrained to purſue, and retreat alternately, proceeded at a ſlow Rate. When the Rear was diſtreſſed by the Enemy, *Xenophon* uſually ſent Orders to the Van to halt; and though *Chiriſophus* had hitherto halted as often as deſired, yet did he not at this Time halt, but led the Van briskly on, and gave Orders that the Reſt ſhould follow. *Xenophon* was perſuaded that there was ſome emergent Neceſſity for this Expedition, but the Time would not allow him to ride forward, and enquire into the Cauſe of it. So by theſe Means the March of the Rear very little differed from a Flight. And here *Cleonymus* a *Lacedæmonian*, and a very brave Soldier, loſt his Life by a Dart that pierced his Side through his Shield and Cuiraſs, and *Baſias* an *Arcadian* was ſlain by a Dart, that penetrated quite through his Scull.

When they came to the Place of their Encampment, *Xenophon* went in his Armour to *Chiriſophus*, and expoſtulated with him for not making an Halt, which put them under a Neceſſity of flying and fighting at the ſame Time. And now, added he, we have loſt two brave and valiant Soldiers, and there is no Poſſibility of recovering their Bodies or giving them Burial. To this *Chiriſophus* replyed, Caſt your Eyes toward the Mountains, and view how difficult they are to be paſſed. Nor is there any other Road over them, than the Path before your Eyes, which is very ſteep, and ſecured by a great

great Body of the Enemies, who guard all the Avenues to it. And on this Account I halted not, but quickned my Pace to prevent the Enemy, if poſſible, in gaining the Paſs; for our Guides aſſure me, that there is no other Way, by which we can march over them. To this *Xenophon* made Anſwer, But I have two Men that ſhall be Guides. For, when we were ſore preſſed by the Enemy, we laid an Ambuſcade, and by it we got ſome Reſpite from fighting. Some of the Enemy we killed, and were very aſſiduous to take others Priſoners, that we might be provided with Guides, that are well acquainted with the Country. Then the Men were brought and examined ſeparately, if they knew of any other than the open Road in their View. One of them, though ſeveral Terrors were placed before his Eyes, would make no Confeſſion, and, having not been able to extort from him any Thing to their Advantage; they put him to Death in the Sight of the ſurviving Priſoner, who alledged, that the deceaſed did not confeſs that he was acquainted with another Road, becauſe he had a Daughter that was married in thoſe Parts; and, he added, that he would lead them a Way where they might paſs even with their Baggage; and being queſtioned, if there were any difficult Paſſes in the Road, he anſwered, that there was an Eminence, in ſecuring which, if they did not prevent the Enemy, to paſs by would be impracticable. On this Occaſion, they determined to ſend for the Captains both of the Targeteers, and heavy-armed Infantry, and repreſenting to them the preſent Poſture of their Affairs, demand if any of them were ready to give a Proof of their Courage, and offer themſelves Voluntiers for that Service. *Ariſtonymus* an *Arcadian* of *Methydrium*,

thydrium, and *Agaſias* an *Arcadian* of *Stymphalus*. Captains of the heavy-armed Forces, offered themſelves. *Callimachus* an *Arcadian* of *Parrhaſia*, between whom and *Agaſias* there was a military Contention, offered to go on that Expedition, with the Voluntiers of the Army; for, ſays he, I aſſure myſelf, that many young Men will follow where I lead the Way. After this, they propoſed to the Captains of the light-armed, and to the private Men, if any of them would aſſiſt in that Enterprize. *Ariſteas* of *Chios*, who deſerved very well from the Army for former Services on the like Occaſion, offers his Aſſiſtance.

It was now waxing Dark, when Orders were given, that they ſhould take their Supper, and ſet out on their March. The Guide was bound and delivered to them, and an Agreement made, that if they gained the Eminence, they ſhould reſt there that Night. That at Break of Day, they ſhould ſound a Trumpet as a Signal of Succeſs; and march down from the Eminence to attack the Enemy that guarded the publick Road, and that the Army ſhould march up Hill to engage them at the ſame Time. Theſe Things being concludedon, the Detachment, being 2000 in Number, began their March at the Time of a very violent Rain. *Xenophon* alſo with the Rear-Guard, made a Feint to march toward the Road, in order to draw the Enemy to that Side, that the Detachment might paſs by them entirely unobſerved. As ſoon as the Rear-Guard came to the hollow Bottom, which they muſt unavoidably croſs before they could come to the ſteep Road on the oppoſite Side, the *Barbarians* rolled down huge Rocks, each ſufficient to load a Cart, with other Stones of a leſſer Size, which being daſhed in Pieces with the Fall

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on the Rocks beneath, flew about, as if they had been hurled from Slings; ſo that even to approach the Road was utterly impoſſible. Some of the Captains ſeeing it impracticable to ſucceed this Way, made Attempts at other Places, and theſe they continued till it was dark; and, when they thought that their Retreat would be imperceptible to the Enemy, they marched off to their Supper. For the Rear-Guard had taken no Dinner this Day. The Enemy rolled Stones down the Precipice during the whole Night without Intermiſſion, as was manifeſt by the Craſhes they heard.

In the mean Time, the Detachment with the Guide taking a Circuit, ſurprized the Enemies Guard as they were ſitting round their Fires. Some being ſlain on the Spot, the reſt betook themſelves to Flight, and the *Græcians* took up their Quarters in the ſame Place, believing, that they were in Poſſeſſion of the Top of the Hill. But of this they were not Maſters, for there was yet above them an Eminence contiguous to the Paſs, whereon the Enemy had placed their Guard, and which had a Communication with the Enemy that were poſted on the publick Road. In this Place they continued the Night, and when the Day began to appear, they advanced with great Silence, in order of Battle againſt the Enemy; and the Morning proving Miſty, they fell in with the Enemies Quarters before they were diſcovered. As ſoon as they diſcerned each other, the *Græcians* ſounded the Trumpet, and giving a great Shout, ruſhed on the Foe, who made not the leaſt Reſiſtance, but, quitting the Road, ran away; but being expedite and nimble, few of them were ſlain, *Chiriſophus*, hearing the Signal of the Trumpet,

Trumpet, advanced with his Troops toward the publick Road. Some of the other Generals took different Routs through By-Paths, and climbing up Precipices helped up their Companions with their Spears; and theſe firſt joined the Detachment that had gained the Paſs. But *Xenophon* with half of the Rear-Guard, directed his March the ſame Way, (for it was the beſt Road for the Carriages) which the Detachment with the Guide had taken; the Reſt he diſpoſed behind the Carriages. In their March, they came to an Eminence, which commanded the Road, and was ſecured by the Enemy, whom they muſt diſlodge, or their Communication with the Reſt of the Army would be cut off. The Troops might have marched the ſame Road as the Reſt of the Army, but the Carriages could paſs no other Way. Then forming themſelves in Files, they attacked the Eminence with mutual Exhortations, leaving Room for the Enemy to fly, if they were diſpoſed for Flight. The *Barbarians*, perceiving them advancing up the Hill in different Places, as they were moſt acceſſible, quitted their Poſt, and betook themſelves to Flight, throwing neither Dart nor Javelin at them as they advanced near the Road. The *Græcians* had no ſooner paſſed by this Eminence, than they came within View of another, which the Enemy had ſeized on, this they reſolved to attack without Delay: But *Xenophon* reflected, that if the Eminence, which they had lately taken, was left without a Guard, the Enemy might again ſeize on it, and diſtreſs the Carriages in their March; for the Streightneſs of the Road cauſed the Carriages to move very tediouſly. To obviate therefore this Evil, he left *Cephiſodorus* of *Athens*, the Son of *Cephiſophon* and *Archagoras* an Exile

Exile of *Argos*, with their Companies on the Eminence, and with the Reſt of the Troops, marched to attack the ſecond Eminence, of which he made himſelf Maſter in the ſame Manner as of the Firſt. There remained yet a third Hill of a more ſteep Aſcent than either of the Others, and commanded the Enemy's Guard which the Detachment had ſurprized in the Night. The *Græcians* approaching near it, the *Barbarians* quitted it to them without the leaſt Oppoſition. The *Græcians* were ſurprized, and imagined that the Enemy had abandoned it through Fear of being ſurrounded and taken Priſoners. But they had obſerved what paſſed in the Rear, which they went to attack with all their Forces. *Xenophon* with the youngeſt Soldiers mounted the Hill, ordering the Reſt to follow at an eaſy Pace, till they ſhould be joined by the Companies in the Rear, and then to proceed in one Body along the Road, and when they came to a level Spot, to halt and lay down their Arms. In the mean Time came *Archagoras* of *Argos*, who had ſaved himſelf by Flight, and informed him, that the Enemy had beaten them from the firſt Hill, that *Cephiſodorus*, *Amphicrates*, and ſome others had loſt their Lives, and a few only, by leaping down the Precipice, had eſcaped and fled for Refuge to the Rear-Guard. The *Barbarians*, having effected this, retired to an Hill oppoſite to *Xenophon*, who, by an Interpreter treated with them concerning a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, and a Delivery of the Slain. They returned, that they were willing to deliver the dead Bodies on Condition, that their Villages might be exempted from Fire. To this Propoſal *Xenophon* conſented, and while this Treaty was on Foot, the Reſt of the Forces marched by the Paſs and

joined him. The Enemy kept their Station, but, as ſoon as the *Græcians* began to march down the Hill to the Place where their Companions had laid down their Arms, the *Barbarians*, in great Multitudes, with a vaſt Noiſe, took Poſſeſſion of the Eminence which *Xenophon* had quitted, and, rolling down Pieces of Rocks, broke a Leg of one of the Soldiers. *Xenophon*'s Armour-Bearer being not on the Spot with his Shield, *Eurylochus* an *Arcadian* of *Lutium*, a heavy-armed Soldier, ran to him, and, interpoſing between him and the Enemy, covered both *Xenophon* and himſelf with his Shield, and brought him off; the Reſt alſo retreated to the Van that ſtood in order of Battle.

After this the whole *Græcian* Army joined again, and there being in thoſe Parts many handſome Houſes well ſtored with Conveniences, they took up their Quarters in them. Here was likewiſe Wine in Abundance, which they kept in Ciſterns, plaiſtered with Lime. *Xenophon* and *Chiriſophus* treated with the *Barbarians* to exchange the Guide for the Bodies (*a*) of the Slain, whoſe Funerals they ſolemnized with all Honours uſually paid to brave Men. The next Day they proceeded on their March without a Guide; the Enemy kept them

(*a*) The Antients believed that the Souls of the Dead wandered on the Banks of the *Stygian-Lake*, and could not obtain a Paſſage over it, till their Bodies were buried. Agreeable to this Opinion, the Ghoſt of *Palinucus* entreats *Æneas* in the 6th Book of *Virgil*, to bury his Corps, that his Soul might enjoy Reſt. But beſides this Opinion, *Xenophon* had another ſtrong Motive; for when the *Athenians* had obtained a ſignal Victory at *Arginuſæ*, ſix of the Admirals that had contributed to this glorious Action were put to Death, for a neglect to take up and bury the floating Dead. And as their Condemnation was freſh in *Xenophon*'s Mind, as having happened lately, he was the more earneſt to recover the dead Bodies.

them in continual Action, and, ſeizing on the Paſſes, obſtructed their March. When they retarded the Van, *Xenophon*, wheeling off, and gaining the Ground above the Enemy, opened a Paſſage for the Van, and, when the Rear were diſtreſſed, *Chiriſophus*, gaining the upper Ground, opened a Paſſage for the Rear. And in this Manner they were mutually aſſiſtant to, and careful of each other's Safety. The Enemy alſo ſorely diſtreſſed thoſe that gained the Mountains, in their Deſcent from them; for they were nimble, and, having no other Arms than Bows and Slings, even after a cloſe Attack, evaded the Purſuit of the *Græcians*. They were excellent Archers, their Bows were near three Cubits in Length, and their Arrows more than two. When they ſhoot their Arrows, they ſet their Left-Foot foremoſt, and draw the String toward the nethermoſt Part of the Bow; and neither Shields nor Breaſt-Plates are a Defence againſt them. The *Græcians* fixed Straps to them, and turned them into Javelins. The *Cretans* under the Command of *Stratocles* of *Crete* were of great Service on theſe Occaſions.

This Day they quartered in the Villages, at the Head of a Plain, lying on the Banks of the (*b*) *Centrites*. This River is two Plethrons broad, ſeparates the Territories of the *Carduchans* from *Armenia*, and is ſix or ſeven Furlongs diſtant from the Mountains of the *Carduchans*. Theſe Quarters were very acceptable to them; for here they found plenty of Proviſions, and with Pleaſure called to Mind their Paſt Fatigues. For during the ſeven Days, in which they were paſſing through the

(*b*) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this River divides *Media* and *Armenia*, ſo that the Mountains of the *Carduchans* muſt have been within the Bounds of *Media*.

the Country of the *Carduchans*, they had been kept in continual Action, and the Fatigues and Dangers which they ſuſtained there, exceeded all they had ſuffered from the King and *Tiſſaphernes*. Theſe Dangers being paſt, they with Pleaſure gave themſelves up to Reſt. At Break of Day they perceived a Body of Horſe on the far Side of the River ready to diſpute their Paſſage, and behind the Horſe a Body of Infantry, drawn up on the riſing Ground above the River, in order to oppoſe their Entrance into *Armenia*. Theſe were the Forces of *Orontes* and *Artuchus*, and conſiſted of *Armenians*, (*c*) *Mygdonians* and mercenary *Chaldæans*. By Report theſe laſt are a couragious Nation living in Liberty. Their Arms were long wicker Shields and Lances. The riſing Ground on which they were drawn up, was three or four Plethrons diſtant from the River. There was one Road diſcernable, which ſeemed to be cut by Art, and led to the Hills. The *Græcians* attempted to ford the River, but the Water reached above their Breaſts, and the Bottom of the Channel was uneven with large ſlippery Stones. To ford the River with their Arms, protended before them was impoſſible; for the Violence of the Stream forced them out of their Hands, and, if they carried their Arms on their Head, their Bodies ſtood expoſed to the Darts, and other Weapons of the Enemy. So they retreated and pitched their Camp near the River, from which they diſcerned a great Body

(*c*) Who thoſe *Mygdonians* were, I am at a Loſs to determine. Could they be *Mercenaries* from *Mygdonia* in *Myſia*? I ſhould have conjectured that it ſhould be *Mygdonians*, the Inhabitants of *Arbelitis*, but they were not called by that Name, till after the Conqueſt of the *Macedonians*. Perhaps it ſhould be in the Original Μυσοὶ *Medes*.

Body of *Carduchans* poſted on the Mountain, where they had quartered the preceding Night. And here the *Gracians*, ſeeing the Enemy on the oppoſite Side, endeavouring to prevent their Paſſage, and the *Carduchans* ready to deſcend from the Hill and fall on their Rear, were in great Deſpondency at the Senſe of the Difficulties in fording the River. This Day and the Night following they ſpent in a moſt melancholy Manner; but to *Xenophon* appeared a Dream. He fancied that he ſaw himſelf bound with Chains, and that they looſed themſelves ſpontaneouſly, and left him at Liberty of paſſing as he pleaſed. At Break of Day he goes to *Chiriſophus*, and, having told him, that he did not doubt, but that the preſent Poſture of their Affairs would take a happy Turn, relates his Dream. *Chiriſophus*, hearing it, was greatly rejoiced, and, it being yet duskiſh, all the Generals preſent offered Sacrifice. The Omens of the firſt Victims foreboded Succeſs, and the Sacrifice be-being finiſhed, the Generals and Captains gave Orders to the Soldiers to take ſome Victuals.

While *Xenophon* was at his Dinner, two young Men came to him in great Haſte. For it was well known, that Acceſs to him was open at the Time either of dining or ſupping, and that he took it not amiſs to be rouſed from Sleep, by thoſe who had any Thing to impart relating to the Army. They repreſented to him, that, as they were gathering ſome Bruſhwood for their Firing, they obſerved an old Man, a Woman, and ſome Girls hiding Bundles of Cloaths in the Hollow of a Clift on the far Side of the River. And, as that Paſs was inacceſſible to the Enemy's Horſe, they thought, they might, without any Danger, venture over the River. Stripping themſelves therefore

fore naked, they plunged into the Water with their Swords drawn, in order to ſwim to the other Side, which they reached, and were not wet even to the Middle, and that, having taken away the Cloaths, they returned again. *Xenophon* immediately offered a *Libation*, and ordered the young Men to pour out a *Libation* alſo to the Gods, that had revealed both the Dream and the Paſſage over the River; imploring them, that they would accompliſh whatever elſe was neceſſary to their Good. The *Libation* being ended, he carried the young Men to *Chiriſophus*, and they related to him what had happened. *Chiriſophus* cauſed a *Libation* of Wine to be made, and after they gave Orders to the Army to pack up their Baggage, and in the mean Time, calling a Council of War, they deliberated on the moſt probable Methods for paſſing the River, for routing the Enemy on their Front, and ſaving themſelves from the Enemy on their Rear. And here it was reſolved, that *Chiriſophus*, with one half of the Army ſhould croſs the River, and that *Xenophon* with the other half ſhould remain on that Side, while the Carriages and unarmed Multitude were paſſing over. Every Thing being diſpoſed in Order, they ſet out under the Guidance of the young Men, keeping the River on their Left-Hand. The Diſtance to the Ford was about four Furlongs. As they proceeded on, the Enemies Cavalry on the far Side kept equal Pace with them, as they marched along the Banks of the River. When they came to the Ford, they laid down their Arms on the Bank, and *Chiriſophus*, putting a Garland on his Head, ſtripped himſelf naked, and, taking up his Arms, gave Orders to the Reſt to follow his Example, and that the Captains ſhould March with their Companies by

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Files on his Right and Left. The Diviners offerred Sacrifices at the Side of the River, and the Enemy attempted to moleſt them with their Arrows and Stones, which fell ſhort of the Bank. The Victims appearing propitious, the whole Army ſung the Hymn, and gave a martial Shout; the Women alſo ſent forth great Shrieks; for there were not a few publick Women in the Camp. *Chiriſophus*, with his Diviſion of the Forces entering the Water, *Xenophon* with the moſt nimble Soldiers in the Rear ran back to the Ford that led to the Road over the *Armenian* Mountains; making a Feint to paſs the River at that Place, and hem in the Horſe that guarded the Bank. The Enemy perceiving *Chiriſophus* fording the River with great Facility, and *Xenophon* with other Forces haſtning back, were afraid of being ſurrounded, and fled full ſpeed to the Road that led from the River; and having reached the Road made toward the Mountain. *Lycius* commander of the Cavalry, and *Æſchines*, a Captain of the Targeteers, under *Chiriſophus*, obſerving the precipitate Flight of the Enemy, followed in Purſuit of them, and the Soldiers with Shoutings exhorted them not to quit the Chace, but aſcend the Hill with the Enemy. *Chiriſophus* having gained the oppoſite Side, went not in Purſuit of the Horſe, but directed his March along the Banks of the River againſt the Infantry that was poſted on the upper Ground, who perceiving the Flight of their Cavalry, and that the Heavy-armed were advancing to attack them, quitted the Eminence that was above the River. *Xenophon* ſeeing every thing ſucceed on the Side, that *Chiriſophus* had made himſelf Maſter of the Hills, and that *Lycius* with the ſmall Party that purſued the Enemy, had

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taken ſome of their Carriages that lagged behind (wherein he found ſome rich Apparel and drinking Veſſels) returned with all Expedition to the Forces that were fording the River; for the Baggage and unarmed Multitude, with great Diligence paſſed the River, and the *Carduchans* were plainly diſcerned marching down the Hills to fall on the Rear. *Xenophon*, facing about, diſpoſed his Troops againſt the *Carduchans*, and ſent Orders to the Captains to draw up their Companies by Enomoties, and wheeling to the Left, lead up the Enomories, and form a Phalanx. That the Captains and Enomotarchs of the Front ſhould advance againſt the *Carduchans*, and the Officers of the Rear keep their Poſt at the River.

The *Carduchans* perceiving the Rear-Guard left alone without the unarmed Multitude, and making a ſmall Appearance, made a ſudden Onſet, ſinging Songs according to their Cuſtom. On the other Hand *Chiriſophus*, having ſecured himſelf free from Danger, detaches the Targeteers, Slingers, and Archers to *Xenophon*, with Directions to obſerve his Orders. When they were entering into the Water, *Xenophon* ſent a Meſſenger to them with Orders to make a Stand in the Ford, and that, as ſoon as his Men began to ford the River, they ſhould make a Feint to repaſs it on each Side of his Troops, the Javelin-Men with their Javelins protended; and the Archers with their Arrows lying on their Bows, but that they ſhould not proceed beyond the River. He alſo directed his own Men to beat on their Shields, ſing the Hymn, and run full ſpeed on the Enemy, as ſoon as they ſhould be within Reach of the Slingers. But, when the Enemy ſhould turn their Backs, and an Alarm be ſounded from the River, that the

Officers

Officers of the Rear ſhould wheel to the Right, and lead the Way, and all the Reſt make all poſſible Haſte to paſs the River, every Man keeping his Rank, that they might not be an Obſtacle one to the other. And, added he, whoever firſt gains the far Side, ſhall be eſteemed the braveſt Man. The *Carduchans* perceiving few of the *Græcians* remaining together, (for even many of thoſe that had been aſſigned to that Poſt, had quitted it to look after either their Baggage, their Carriage-Beaſts, or their Women) made a fierce Attack with their Slings and Arrows. But the *Græcians* having ſung the Hymn ran on them. The Enemy did not ſuſtain their Charge, for their Arms were ſuitable for a ſudden Attack or Retreat on ſteep Hills, but by no means adapted for a cloſe Fight. At this Inſtant the Trumpet ſounded, which added to the Precipitancy of their Flight; and the *Græcians* wheeling about, made all poſſible Haſte to paſs the River. This being noticed by ſome of the Enemy, they ran back to the River, and wounded a few with their Darts. But the greater Part continued their Flight, even after the *Græcians* had gained the oppoſite Side. The Troops, that were aſſigned to oppoſe the Enemy, gave them a warm Reception, and, having been too Eager in the Chace, could not regain the River, till *Xenophon* had paſſed it; ſo that the Enemy wounded ſome of theſe alſo.

About Noon the whole Army had paſſed the River, and continuing their March, in order of Battle the reſt of the Day, through a flat Country, with ſeveral gentle Riſings, they advanced no leſs than five Paraſangs into *Armenia*, (for the War with the *Carduchans* had rendered the Country adjacent to the River uninhabited) and reached a

conſiderable Village. Here the *Satrap* of the Country had a Palace, few Houſes were without the Defence of a Tower; and Proviſions were found here in great Abundance. Hence in two Encampments they marched ten Paraſangs, and paſſed above the Head of the *Tigris*. Hence in three Encampments of fifteen Paraſangs they reached the *Teleboas*. The River was ſmall but very pleaſant, and its Banks were covered with Villages. This Country is called the *Weſtern Armenia* (*d*) *Tiribaſus* a Favourite of *Artaxerxes*, was Governour of it, and when he attended on the King, He alone (*e*) mounted the King on Horſeback. He approached the Army with a Body of Cavalry, and by an Interpreter deſired a Conference with the Generals. They conſented to give him a Hearing, and advancing near enough to be heard, demanded what he had to offer. He returned, That he was deſirous to enter into a Treaty with them. That he would not annoy the *Græcians*, and that they ſhould be at Liberty to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions, on Condition,

(*d*) This *Tiribazus* was the Firſt that had the Courage to repreſent to *Artaxerxes*, after the Variance between the two Brothers, that he ought not to abandon *Media* and *Babylon*, and retire into *Perſia*. He was often in the higheſt Favour with the Prince for his Courage, and as often in the loweſt Diſgrace for his Inconſtancy and Levity. He was ſlain fighting couragiouſly by the Guards of *Artaxerxes*, who had ordered him to be apprehended for entering into a Conſpiracy with *Darius* his Son againſt him.

(*e*) Before the Invention of Stirrups, Princes had a Servant whoſe particular Office was to aſſiſt him when he mounted on Horſeback. This Servant was called Αναβατης and the Action Αναβολη. The *Latins* named this Servant *Equiſtrator*. After the Uſe of Stirrups, the Name of the Servant was among the *Greeks*, transferred to the Inſtrument that ſupplyed his Place.

tion, that they did not ſet Fire to their Habitations. Theſe Terms were approved of by the Generals, and the Treaty was concluded. Hence in three Days they marched fifteen Paraſangs through a flat Country. (*Tiribaſus* with the Forces of the Province attending their Rear, and keeping about ten Furlongs diſtant from them) and reached a Royal Palace, on every Side of which were ſeveral Villages, abounding with various Kinds of Neceſſaries. Here they pitched their Camp, and that Night fell very much Snow. On this the Generals came to a Reſolution in the Morning, to diſperſe the Army in ſeveral Bodies through the Villages; for there was no Appearance of any Enemy near at Hand, and the great Fall of Snow ſeemed to promiſe them Security. Here they found all good Things that they could deſire, Victims for their Sacrifices, Bread, Wines of a great Age and a delicious Fragrance, dried Raiſins, and all Kinds of Pulſe. Some of the Soldiers having ſtragled from the Camp, reported, that they had obſerved an Army, and diſcerned frequent Fires burning in the Night. The Generals thinking it no longer ſafe to keep their Troops diſperſed in ſeparate Quarters, came to a Reſolution to bring them into one Body, and encamp in the open Air. This was put in Execution, but that Night was ſuch an exceſſive Fall of Snow, that both Men and Arms were buried under it; and the Carriage-Beaſts were ſo fettered with the Snow, that they could not without great Difficulty be raiſed on their Feet, and the Soldiers, whoſe Bodies had not melted the Snow, were a moſt miſerable Spectacle. *Xenophon*, though he had not put on his Cloaths, was the Firſt that had the Courage to cleave ſome Wood, after this another,

nother, animated by his Example, took his Axe and fell to Work, on which all the Reſt riſing up kindled a Fire, and rubbed themſelves with an Ointment made of Hog's-Lard, Oyl of Seſamum, Bitter Almonds and Turpentine, which they found here in great Plenty, and uſed inſtead of Oyl. They found alſo a Perfume of the ſame Compoſition. After this, it being judged Expedient to diſperſe the Army in ſeparate Quarters through the Houſes in the Villages, the Soldiers with Acclamations of Joy, marched to the Houſes and Proviſions, but thoſe Troops that had ſet Fire to their former Quarters, ſeverally ſuffered for their Raſhneſs, being neceſſitated to take up with ill Quarters in the open Air.

This Night, they detatched *Democrates* of *Temenium*, (whoſe Fidelity in bringing an exact Intelligence, whether Things were or were not as reported they had formerly experienced,) to the Mountains, whereon the Fires had been obſerved by thoſe Soldiers that had ſtragled from the Camp. He aſſured the Generals that he could diſcern no Fires in his March, but that he had brought to the Camp Priſoner, a Man whom he had taken armed with a *Perſian* Bow, a Quiver, and a Pole-axe, ſuch as is in uſe among the (*f*) *Amazons*. Being queſtioned concerning his Country, he made Anſwer, that he was a *Perſian*, and ſerved in

(*f*) This Weapon according to *Pliny*, in his 5th Book, was firſt uſed by *Pentheſilea*, Queen of the *Amazons*, at the Siege of *Troy*. Afterwards in the Time of *Auguſtus*, the *Vindelici* carried the ſame Weapons in their War againſt the *Romans*. For this we are obliged to the 4th Ode of the 11th Book of *Horace*.

Vindelici, quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia *ſecuri*
Dextra, obarmet quærere diſtuli.

in the Army under *Tiribazus*, and had left his Camp to ſeek Proviſions. Then they interrogated him concerning the Number of the Troops, and the Intent of drawing them together. He anſwered that the Army of *Tiribazus* conſiſted of the provincial Troops, and ſome mercenary *Chalybæans*, and *Taochans*; and that he was determined to fall upon the *Græcians* in the Streights of the Mountains, where was only one narrow Paſs. The Generals on this Intelligence came to a Reſolution of rejoining their Forces, and immediately ſet out on their March, under the Guidance of the Priſoner, *Sophænetus* of *Stymphalus* being left behind in the Camp with a Part of the Troops to guard the Baggage. When they had gained the Summit of the Mountains, the Targeteers in the Van perceived the Camp of the Enemy beneath them, and, waiting not till they might be joined by the Heavy-armed, ran with great Shouts to attack it. The *Barbarians* were ſo terrified at the Noiſe, that they quitted their Camp, and ran away; which notwithſtanding, ſome few were ſlain, and about 20 Horſes taken. Among the Booty was the Tent of *Tiribazus*, in which they found Beds with Feet of Silver, drinking Veſſels, and ſome Slaves who averred that their Office was to make his Bread, and ſerve him at Table with Wine. The Leaders of the heavy armed Troops being adviſed of the Flight of the *Barbarians*, and fearing, leaſt the Guard, which they had left in the Camp with the Baggage, might in their Abſence be attacked, thought it adviſeable to march back with all Expedition, and, immediately ſounding a Retreat, they returned the ſame Day to their Camp.

The next Day it was thought Expedient to proceed forward with all poſſible Speed, before that

Tiribazus

Tiribazus could rally his ſcattered Forces, and ſecure the Streights. The Baggage was immediately packed up, and being well provided with Guides, they ſet forward through a deep Snow, and having before Night paſſed the Eminence, where *Tiribazus* intended to have fallen on them, they pitched their Camp. Hence in three Days they marched fifteen Paraſangs, through a Deſert, along the Banks of the *Euphrates*, which they forded, the Water reaching to their Navel. They were informed that the Head of the River was at no great Diſtance from this Place. In three Days more they marched fifteen Paraſangs, through a flat Country, covered deep with Snow. The third Day their March was very ſevere, the North-wind, which blew directly in their Faces, ſcorching and benumbing the Limbs of the Soldiers, to that Degree, that they could not move them. One of the Diviners adviſed the Generals to Sacrifice to the Wind. The Victims were offered, and the Violence of the Wind was manifeſtly abated. The Depth of the Snow was no leſs than a Fathom, and by theſe Means, many of the Carriage-Beaſts, and Slaves, with about thirty of the Soldiers periſhed. In the Place where they encamped was plenty of Wood, ſo that they kept Fires burning during the whole Night; but the Soldiers that reached the Camp late, were deſtitute of Fires, nor would thoſe, that came ſooner, and had kindled Fires, admit their Companions to warm themſelves, unleſs they received a ſhare of the Wheat, or whatever other Proviſions they had; and thus they communicated Part of what they had to each other. The Heat of the Fire melting the Snow, and making large Trenches to the Surface

of

of the Earth, the Depth of the Snow was eaſily meaſured. Hence the Day following they continued their March through the Snow, and many of the Men were troubled with a *Bulimia*. *Xenophon*, who cammanded the Rear, finding the Soldiers lying on the Ground, was entirely ignorant of their Diſorder, till one of the Rear-Guard, a Man of Experience told him, that it was undoubtedly a *Bulimia*, and that they would recover the Uſe of their Legs, as ſoon as they ſhould eat any Victuals. *Xenophon* hearing this went forward to the Carriages, and whatever Victuals or Drink he found there, he either diſtributed himſelf, or ſent by ſuch as were beſt able to run from Place to Place: And when thoſe that were ſeized with a *Bulimia*, had eaten any Meat, they roſe from the Ground, and proceeded on their March. At the Twilight they reached a Village, and ſeized on ſeveral Women and Girls carrying Water from a Well, that was without the Fortifications of the Village. Theſe Women enquiring what thoſe Forces were, the Interpreter anſwered her in the *Perſian* Tongue, that they were Forces ſent by the King to the Satrap of the Province; to which the Woman replyed, That he was not in the Village, but lay about a Paraſang from it. It being now late, they enter the Village, with the Women, and go to the Governour of it. *Chiriſophus* with as many Troops as the Village could contain quartered in it, but the Reſt of the Army, that could not reach the Place, paſſed the Night in a moſt diſmal Manner, without either Victuals or Fires, which occaſioned the Loſs of ſome of the Men. The Enemy alſo rallying again, followed the *Græcians* in the Rear, and plundering the Carriages that lagged behind, quarrelled about the Prey.

Thoſe

Thoſe that had loſt their Eye-ſight by looking on the Snow, or thoſe whoſe Toes had rotted away with the exceſſive Cold, were left behind the Army. But at laſt they diſcovered, that if any Thing of a (g) black Colour was tied before their Eyes in their March, it obviated this Evil, and that a continued Motion by Day, and pulling off their Shoes at Night preſerved their Feet. But all that went to ſleep with Shoes on, had their Feet pierced with the Strings, and the Shoes frozen to them. For the Shoes which they had brought from *Greece* were worn out, and they were conſtrained to uſe coarſe Shoes, with a ſingle Sole, and made of raw Hides. Theſe Hardſhips caſt behind ſome of the Soldiers, who, perceiving a ſpot of Ground of a blackiſh Colour, concluded, that the Snow was diſſolved there; and indeed a Spring that bubled out into a Valley, had diſſolved the Snow thereabouts. Hither theſe Men turned aſide, and ſitting down on the Ground, refuſed to proceed on. *Xenophon*, who commanded the Rear, neglected no Intreaties or Arguments that might induce them not to be left behind, telling them, that their Enemies were aſſembled in great Numbers, and followed cloſe at their Heels. But they perceiving him enraged at their Obſtinacy, deſired him to kill them if he pleaſed, for they were not able to march on. That the Soldiers therefore, who were ſick and fatigued, might not fall a Sacrifice to their Enemies, he judged it beſt to

(g) *Tavernier* aſſures us, that in Time of a deep Snow, Travellers through *Armenia* in his Time, uſed the ſame Remedy for preſerving their Eyes from the Snow. And our late Accounts of that Country, confirms *Xenophon*'s Deſcription of it, and relates the exceſſive Falls of Snow in *Armenia*, and the Backwardneſs of the Spring.

to ſtrike a Terr or into their Forces, for it was dark, and they came on with a vaſt Noiſe and Tumult, unable to agree about their Prey. In order to this, thoſe of the Rear-Guard, whoſe Strength was as yet firm, ran on the Enemy, and the ſick and haraſſed Soldiers gave great Shouts, and beat on their Shields with their Spears. The Enemy in great Affright threw themſelves precipitately through the Snow into the Valley, and the *Gracians* heard no more of them. *Xenophon* and the Soldiers of the Rear, having aſſured thoſe that were ſick and fatigued, that he would ſend for them the next Morning, proceeded forward; but before they had marched ten Furlongs, they find the Soldiers lying on the Snow, defended well with Coverings, and no Guard placed on the Watch. Being rouſed up, they ſaid, that the Van had made a Stand. *Xenophon* paſſing by ſent off ſome of the moſt able Targeteers to ſee what obſtructed their March; and they brought back Word, that the whole Army had taken up their Quarters after the ſame Manner. *Xenophon* hearing this, appointed as ſtrong a Guard as he could, and with the Rear-Guard reſted there, but they had neither Meat nor Fires. About Break of Day, he ſent the youngeſt of the Soldiers with Orders to raiſe up the Sick and conſtrain them to March forward. In the mean Time, *Chiriſophus* ſent a Party of Soldiers from the Village to make Enquiry after the Rear. Their Arrival was very acceptable, and the Sick were delivered to them to be conveyed to the Camp. Then the Rear alſo marched on, and within twenty Furlongs they reached the Village where *Chiriſophus* had taken up his Quarters.

After this the Generals in a Council concluded that the Army might without Danger be

quartered in Parties thro' the Villages. *Chirisophus* retained his preſent Station, and the other Generals, having drawn Lots for the Villages within Sight, marched off to the Quarters allotted to them. Then *Polycrates* of *Athens*, a Captain under *Xenophon*, having, at his own Requeſt, received Orders to march, took with him a Party of nimble Soldiers, and ran to the Village which had fallen by Lot to *Xenophon*, and took therein all the Inhabitants, with the Governor, Priſoners, and ſeventeen Horſes of the King's Stud, with the Governor's Daughter that had been married nine Days before. Her Husband, being abſent on the Diverſion of Hare-hunting, was not in the Number of the Captives. The Inhabitants had their Dwellings under Ground. At the Top they were narrow like the Mouth of a Well, but grew wider toward the Bottom. In the Sides of the Houſes were Paſſages cut for driving in their Cattle; but the Inhabitants deſcended from the Top by Ladders. In the Houſes they found Goats, Sheep, Oxen, and Fowls with their Chickens. All their Cattle were fed within Doors with dry Fodder. Here was likewiſe Wheat, Barley, Pulſe, and Beer in Ciſterns. They were filled up to the Brim with the Grain, and on them lay Reeds of different Sizes free from Knots; and thro' them thoſe that had a Mind to drink, ſuck'd up the Liquor. It was very heady, unleſs diluted with Water, and very pleaſant when Uſe had render'd it familiar to the Palate. *Xenophon* entertained the Governor at Supper, and deſired him to be of good Courage, aſſuring him, that no Violence ſhould be offered to his Children, and that if he made any Diſcoveries which might prove

prove advantageous to the Army in their Paſſage to another Country, they would before their Departure repleniſh his Houſe with Neceſſaries in the room of thoſe which they ſhould conſume. He aſſured *Xenophon*, that he would ſerve the Army; and, as an Inſtance of his friendly Intentions, he diſcovered the Places where the Inhabitants had concealed their Liquors. The Troops, diſperſed thro' the Houſes in the Villages, ſpent the Night amidſt the greateſt Affluence. A Guard was placed over the Governor, and a watchful Eye kept on his Children. The Day following *Xenophon* went with the Governor to *Chiriſophus*. He viſited the Troops quartered in the Villages thro' which he paſſed, and found them in every Place feaſting, with their Spirits rais'd, nor would they ſuffer him to go away, 'till he had taken Part of what they had. And in every Village they entertained him with Lamb, Veniſon, Pork, Veal, Fowls, and with Plenty of Bread, made both of Wheat and Barley. And when any one, to manifeſt his Regard for him, drank to him, he led him to a Ciſtern, where he drank with his Neck bended after the Manner of an Ox. In all the Villages they permitted the Governor to take away with him whatever he pleaſed; but he made no other Uſe of this Liberty, than to take ſuch of his Relations as he chanced to meet with. When they came to the Quarters of *Chiriſophus*, they found his Troops diſperſed thro' the Houſes with Garlands of Hay on their Heads, and *Armenian* Boys, dreſſed after the Manner of the *Barbarians*, attending on them, and to theſe, as to Mutes, they made known their Pleaſure by Signs. *Chiriſophus* and *Xenophon*, having affectionately

ſaluted

ſaluted one another, they, by an Interpreter skilled in the *Perſian* Language, demanded of the Governor the Name of the Country in which they were, he anſwered *Armenia*. Then they demanded for whom he bred the Horſes, he replyed, that they were deſigned for the Tribute which he paid to the King; and he added, that the adjoining Country was inhabited by the *Chalybes*, and at the ſame Time he pointed out the Road that led to it. After this, *Xenophon* returning to his Quarters, carried the Governor home to his Family, and delivered to him a very old Horſe, which had been formerly taken among the Booty to be fattened for a Victim; for he had been informed that it was conſecrated to the Sun, and being foundered with the March, he was afraid leaſt it might die. But he took out of the Stud a young Horſe for himſelf, and diſtributed one alſo to each of the Generals and Captains. They were of a leſſer Size than the *Perſian* Horſes, but in Mettle far ſurpaſſed them. The Governor of the Village adviſed them to tie Clouts about the Feet of their Horſes and Carriage-beaſts on their March, otherwiſe they ſunk to their Bellies in the Snow.

On the eighth Day, *Xenophon* delivered the Governor to *Chiriſophus* to guide him in their March, and he did not detain any of his Family, but one Son, that was juſt arrived to Man's Eſtate. Him he delivered into the Cuſtody of *Epiſthenes* of *Amphipolis*, that if the Father conducted them faithfully thro' the Country, he might receive his Son at his Departure from the Army. His Houſe they repleniſhed with whatever Neceſſaries they could find, and, having gotten all Things in a Readineſs, they ſet out on their March under the Guidance of the Governor;

vernor; but, the Snow being deep, they did not keep him bound. It was now the third Day ſince they had ſet out on their March, and had not ſeen any Villages. This incenſed *Chiriſophus* againſt the Guide, who aſſured him, that there were no Villages in this Part of the Country. Hereupon *Chiriſophus* gave him ſome Blows, but did not debar him of his Liberty, ſo that he ran off in the Night, and left his Son behind him. This ill Treatment of the Governor, and Omiſſion of ſecuring him after it, cauſed a Difference between *Chiriſophus* and *Xenophon*, and indeed it was the only Difference that happened during the whole Retreat. *Epiſthenes* was enamoured of the Boy, and carried him into *Greece*, where he was ſerved by him with the greateſt Fidelity. After this they proceeded ſeven Encampments, marching five Paraſangs each Day, and came to the *Phaſis*, a River about a Plethron broad. Hence in two Days more they advanced ten Paraſangs. The *Chalybes*, *Taochans*, and *Phaſians*, having poſted themſelves on the Summit of the Mountain that led into the Plain, oppoſed their Paſſage. *Chiriſophus* obſerving the Enemy poſted on the Top of the Mountain, and fearing, leſt he might advance too near, having but one Wing of the Army, halted about ten Furlongs from them, and ſent Orders to the Rear to advance, that the Army might be formed into a Phalanx.

The Rear-guard having joined the reſt of the Army, *Chiriſophus* called a Council of the Generals and Captains, and ſpoke to them in this Manner. Our Enemies, you ſee, have poſted themſelves on the Tops of the Mountain, ſo that it is high Time for us to deliberate on thoſe Methods by which we may moſt advantageouſly engage

engage them. It is therefore my Opinion, that we order the Soldiers to refreſh themſelves with Victuals, while we reſolve whether it is more adviſeable to attempt a Paſſage over the Mountain this Day, or on the Morrow. Then *Cleanor* ſaid, It is my Opinion, that we inſtantly dine, and, with all poſſible Expedition, march to attack the Enemy. For, if we defer our Attack this Day, the Confidence of the Enemy will be raiſed, and others, ſeeing their Confidence, will probably reſort unto them. After him *Xenophon* delivered his Opinion. I am very ſenſible that it is incumbent on us, if an Engagement is truly unavoidable, to exert our Courage to the utmoſt Pitch. But if the moſt eaſy Way of paſſing the Mountain is what we aim at, in my Opinion we ſhould ſearch after ſuch Means as will the leaſt expoſe us to Wounds from our Enemies, and moſt effectually prevent the Loſs of our Men. The Mountain before us is rather more than ſixty Furlongs in Length, and the Enemy, as far as we can diſcern, guard this ſingle Paſs only. To ſteal therefore from the Enemy, and rob them of ſome unguarded Part of the Mountain, is an Attempt more rational, than to expoſe our Bodies againſt fortified Places, and engage with Men reſolute to defend them. For to climb a Precipice where no Oppoſition is made, is eaſier than to march thro' a Plain where Enemies are poſted on every Side to diſpute our Paſſage. And we can obſerve Objects before us in the Night, unmoleſted by an Enemy, more clearly than by Day in the Hurry of a Fight. And a rugged Road gives to an Army free from all Attacks leſs Uneaſineſs than the ſmootheſt Path where every Step brings us in Jeopardy of our Lives. Moreover,

I do not think it impoſſible to ſteal from the Enemy at this Time; for we can both ſet out by Night which will conceal our March, and likewiſe keep at ſuch a Diſtance as that we ſhall not be perceived. And, if we make a Feint to attack the Paſs, we ſhall draw the Enemy in greater Numbers thither, and the other Parts of the Mountain will be even more unguarded. But why make I mention of ſtealing part of the Mountain? I am informed, O *Chiriſophus*, that you (*b*) *Lacedæmonians*, at leaſt thoſe that are in the Number of Equals, even from your Childhood practiſe ſtealing; nor is it deem'd diſhonourable but a neceſſary Qualification, to ſteal whatever is not prohibited by the Laws. And that you may execute your Theſts with the more Cleverneſs and Cunning, the Laws ordain, that you ſhall be ſeverely whipped if you are caught in the Fact. At this time then an Opportunity of putting in Practice the Inſtructions of your Youth preſents itſelf, and you muſt be cautious that you are not detected ſtealing away Part of the Mountain, leſt we be ſcourged with many Stripes. To this *Chiriſophus* replyed, I am alſo informed, that

(*b*) This Law was inſtituted by *Lycurgus*, and the Reaſon of the Inſtitution *Xenophon* gives us in his Account of the *Lacedæmonian* Government. It is manifeſt, ſays he, that the Man that intends to be dextrous in executing a Theft, muſt be inured to Watchings by Night, to the laying of Snares and Traps by Day, and he muſt alſo have Acceſſaries out on the Watch to receive his Prey. And thoſe Citizens that were deſirous to ſee their Sons excel either in the acquiring of Things neceſſary for their Suſtenance, or to ſurpaſs in the Art of War, train'd them up in this Manner.

you

you (*i*) *Athenians* are very bold, tho' the Attempt be greatly hazardous, in ſtealing from the Publick; and that the beſt of your Citizens (if we may call thoſe the beſt that think themſelves worthy to adminiſter the Affairs of the City) are the moſt forward. So that it is no leſs incumbent on you alſo to give ſome Proof of your Education. And I am willing, ſaid *Xenophon*, to march after Supper with the Rear-Guard to ſecure the Mountain. And I am provided with Guides for this Purpoſe. For placing an Ambuſcade of light-arm'd Troops; ſome of thoſe that followed our Rear fell into our Hands, and from them I am informed, that the Mountain is not inacceſſible, but that Herds of Goats and Oxen graze thereon. So that by making ourſelves Maſters of any one Part of the Mountain, we ſhall open a Paſſage for the Baggage-Beaſts. And I doubt not, but the Enemy, who will not venture down into the Plain to fight us on equal Terms, will quit their Poſt when they perceive us ready to engage them on the Top of the Mountain, without any Diſadvantage of Ground. To this *Chiriſophus* made Anſwer, What Neceſſity is there that you ſhould go in Perſon, and abandon your Poſt in the Rear. On the contrary, let us ſend a Detachment from ſome other

(*i*) The *Athenian* Orators, who had almoſt the ſole Management of the civil Affairs at *Athens*, and ſtirred up the People to whatever they pleaſed, were notorious for embezzling the publick Treaſures; inſomuch, that when one demanded of *Phocion* when he would adviſe the *Athenians* to War; he anſwer'd, when the Orators forbear to rob and plunder the Publick.

of

Part of the Army, if no Voluntiers offer themſelves for this Service. Immediately *Ariſtonymus* of *Methydrium* preſented himſelf with a Party of the heavy-armed; *Ariſteus* of *Chios* alſo, and *Nicomachus* of *Teios*, each with a Party of light-arm'd Troops offered themſelves; and the Kindling of frequent Fires was pitched on to be the Signal that they had gained the Top of the Mountain.

Theſe Things being concluded on they dined, and after Dinner *Chiriſophus* advanced with the whole Army, ten Furlongs nearer the Enemy, to decoy them into a Belief, that he intended to force his Way by that Paſs. But as ſoon as they had ſupped, and it was Dark, the Detachment ſet out on their March, and gain the Top of the Mountain. The Reſt of the Army took up their Quarters in the Plain. The Enemy perceiving that the *Græcians* were lodged on the Top of the Mountain, kept a ſtrict Watch, and burned large Fires during the whole Night. At Break of Day, *Chiriſophus* ſacrificed to the Gods, and advanced with the Army along the publick Road, and the Detachment on the Mountain marched againſt the Enemy. The greateſt Part of their Troops were poſted on the Paſs, and another Body was advancing on the Top of the Mountain to reinforce them, but before they had joined the main Body, the two Parties came to an Engagement, in which the *Græcians* put the *Barbarians* to Flight, and gave Chace to them. The Targeteers that were aſcending from the Plain, perceiving the Succeſs of their Companions, ran full ſpeed againſt the Enemy that ſtood in Order of Battle, and *Chiriſophus* with the Heavy-armed followed withall Diligence. But the Enemy that guarded the Paſs, ſeeing their Troops

on the Top of the Mountain defeated, betook themſelves to Flight. The Slaughter of the Enemy was conſiderable, and vaſt Quantities of wicker Shields were found on the Spot. The *Græcians* cut off the Handles of them to render them uſeleſs. The whole Army being joined, they offered Sacrifices, and erected a Trophy on the Top of the Mountain, and from thence deſcending into the Plain, they arrived at ſome Villages, abounding with Plenty of good Things. Hence in five Encampments they marched thirty Paraſangs through the Country of the *Taochans*. Their Proviſions were quite ſpent, for the *Taochans* lived in ſtrong Holds, and had conveyed thither whatever might be of Uſe in ſubſiſting an Army. At laſt they came to a Place in which, though it was no Town, neither had any dwelling Houſes, many of the *Taochans*, both Men and Women, had ſhut up themſelves with large Herds of Cattle. *Chiriſophus* without Delay attempted to ſtorm the Place, but he was conſtrained to make his Attacks by ſmall Parties, freſh Men continually ſupplying the Places of the Wearied; for the Place being on all Sides ſteep and craggy, could not poſſibly be ſurrounded. When *Xenophon* was come up with the light and heavy-armed Troops of the Rear, *Chiriſophus* ſaid, Your Arrival is very ſeaſonable, for we muſt make ourſelves Maſters of this Place, otherwiſe the Army is deſtitute of Proviſions. Then they conſulted together, and *Xenophon* demanded what Obſtacles prevented them from entering the Place. *Chiriſophus* anſwered, It is acceſſible by this Path only, which is in Sight, and when any Attempt is made to paſs that Way, they roll down from the Rock that hangs over the Road great Stones, which falling on the Soldiers, wound them in this Manner; and

and he pointed to ſome of the Soldiers with their Legs and Ribs broken. To this *Xenophon* replyed, But what other Obſtacles are in our Way, when their Ammunition of Stones is ſpent? For there appear in ſight but an inconſiderable Number of Men, and of theſe but two or three with Arms. Beſides we lie expoſed to their Stones for no greater Space than one Plethron and an half, of which one Plethron is planted with Pines at ſmall Diſtances from one another, and if our Soldiers place themſelves behind theſe Trees, how can they be annoyed by Stones, which the Enemy either roll down, or diſcharge from their Slings? The remaining Space is no more than half of a Plethron, which we muſt run over, when the Enemy intermits to roll down Stones. But ſaid *Chiriſophus*, they will not fail to ply us with Stones on our firſt Motion to gain the Cover of the Trees. *Xenophon* replyed, Even that is requiſite to our Paſſage, for by it their Stones will be ſpent the ſooner. But let us advance as far as is conſiſtent with Safety, that we may have as ſhort a Space as poſſible to run by, if an Opportunity offers, and from whence we may on Occaſion retreat again without Danger. Then *Chiriſophus*, and *Xenophon*, and *Callimachus* of *Parrhaſia*, whoſe Poſt was that Day in the Rear, advanced toward the Place (the other Captains halting out of Reach of the Enemy's Stones,) and about ſeventy Soldiers got under Cover of the Trees, every Man taking a Tree for his Defence, with all Precaution imaginable againſt the Enemy. *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus* and *Ariſtonymus* of *Methydrium*, Captains alſo of the Rear, with ſome few others poſted themſelves behind the Trunks of the Trees; for more than one Company could not with ſafety be poſted there. Here *Callimachus* put this

this Stratagem in Execution. He ſtepped two or three Paces from the Tree, behind which he ſtood, and made a quick Retreat, when the Enemy began to pour down Stones; and more than ten Cart-Loads were ſpent at each offer he made to run forward. *Agaſias*, perceiving that the Eyes of the whole Army were fixed on *Callimachus*, and fearing leaſt he might be the firſt that ſhould enter the Place, communicated his Deſign neither to *Ariſtonymus*, nor to *Eurylochus* of *Luſium*, nor to any one of the Soldiers, but quits his Poſt, and paſſes by them all. *Callimachus* perceiving him running by, catches him by the Shield, and in the mean Time, *Ariſtonymus* of *Methydrium* and *Eurylochus* of *Luſium* ran by them; (for all theſe were Competitors and Rivals with one another for Valour) and thus through the Emulation of theſe Captains the Place was taken. For no ſooner had one of them entered the Place, than the Rolling down of Stones ceaſed. Then you might have ſeen a moſt miſerable Spectacle, for the Men and Women, having caſt their Children down the Præcipice, threw themſelves headlong after them. Here *Æneas* of *Stymphalus* a Captain, obſerving one of the Enemy richly dreſſed running to throw himſelf down the Precipice, endeavoured to prevent him, but the other dragging him along, both tumbled over the Rock, and were daſhed in Pieces. Few of the Men were taken Priſoners, but the Booty of Oxen, Aſſes, and Sheep was very great.

Hence in ſeven Days they marched fifty Paraſangs through the Country of the (*k*) *Chalybes*, theſe were

(*k*) This Nation is called by *Homer* the *Alizones*. But the Name of *Chalybes* was common to all People, that wrought in Iron and Iron-Mines. Theſe are by *Pliny* called the *Armeno-Chalybes*.

were the moſt couragious People they met with in their Retreat, and they ventured to come to a cloſe Engagement. They had Breaſt-Plates of Linnen, which reached to their Navels, and the extreme Parts were of twiſted Cords. Their Heads were defended with Helmets, and their Legs with Greaves. They alſo wore a Dagger of the Size of the *Lacedæmonian* Sword, which they made Uſe of in a cloſe Engagement, and when they ſlew an Enemy, they cut off his Head, and carried it in Triumph, dancing and ſinging Songs, while their Enemies were in Sight. Beſides theſe Arms they carry a Spear, fifteen Cubits in Length, having a ſingle Head of Iron. They ſhut themſelves up in their Towns, and when the *Græcians* had marched by, they ſallied out, and kept them in continual Action. There were alſo fortified Places, into which they had removed the whole Product of their Country; ſo that the *Græcians* unable to get any Proviſions in theſe Parts, ſubſiſted on the Cattle they had taken from the *Taochans*. After this the *Græcians* arrived at the River *Harpaſus*, which is four Plethrons broad. Hence in four Encampments, having marched twenty Paraſangs through a Champaign Country, pertaining to the *Scythinians*, they arrived at ſome Villages, where they continued three Days, and furniſhed themſelves with Bread. Hence in a March of twenty Paraſangs in four Days, they reached a large flouriſhing and populous City called *Gymnias*. The Prince of this Country ſent a Guide to the *Græcians* to conduct them through the Territories of their Enemies, and coming alſo in Perſon, he aſſured the *Græcians* that in five Days he would conduct them to a Place, whence they might Diſcern the Sea; and that he was willing to ſuffer

Death

Death if he failed in his Promiſes. As ſoon as they entered the Territories of his Enemies, he adviſed them to lay waſte and ſet the whole Country on Fire; ſo that Enmity for the Natives, and not Good-will to the *Græcians*, was manifeſtly the Motive of his coming. On the fifth Day they reached a conſecrated Mountain called (*l*) *Thecbes*. The Van having gained the Top of the Hill, and diſcerning the Sea, gave frequent Shouts, which *Xenophon*, and the Rear-Guard hearing, imagined that the Van had been attacked by ſome new Enemy, for the Inhabitants of the Country, which they had laid Waſte, followed cloſe at the Heels of the Enemy, but the Rear-Guard by an Ambuſcade killed ſome, and took others Priſoners, with about twenty Shields made of raw Hides, with the Hair on them. The Noiſe encreaſing, and approaching nearer (for as the Troops gained the Hill, they ran to their Companions that continued ſhouting, ſo that the Noiſe grew louder, as their Numbers were augmented) made *Xenophon* apprehenſive that ſomething of Importance had happened. Mounting therefore his Horſe, he galloped with *Lycius* and the Cavalry in order to aſſiſt them; and inſtantly they hear the Soldiers ſhouting with mutual Exhortations of Joy, *The Sea, The Sea*. Then the whole Army, even the Rear-Guard ran up the Hill, and the Carriages and Horſes were driven after them. The whole Army having reached the Top of the Hill, the Generals and Captains, with Tears of Joy, embraced each other, and the Soldiers gathering Stones (but by whoſe Advice is unknown) erected a great Pillar, whereon they placed an immenſe Quantity of Shields

(*l*) *Diodorus Siculus* calls this Hill *Mons Chemnius*.

Shields made of raw Hides, Clubs, and wicker Targets, the Spoils of their Enemies. The Guide cut in Pieces the Targets, and perſuaded others to follow his Example. After this they diſmiſs their Guide, requiting him with a Horſe, a ſilver Bowl, a *Perſian* Veſt, and ten Darics out of the publick Stock; and many of the Soldiers preſented him with Rings, of which he ſeemed to be chiefly fond. Having ſhown a Village commodious for their Quarters, and the Road that led to the *Macrones*, he took his Leave, and departed as ſoon as it was Dark, making his Journey back by Night.

Hence in three Encampments, the Army marched ten Paraſangs through the Country of the *Macrones*. On the firſt Day's March, they came to a River the Boundary of the *Macrones* and the *Sythoians*. On the Right was a high craggy Precipice, and on the Left, another River which received the River, the Boundary of the two Nations, which they muſt neceſſarily paſs. On the Bank of the River were large Trees, at ſmall Intervals from each other. Theſe the *Græcians* inſtantly on their Arrival cut down, being very eager to get free of the Paſs as ſoon as poſſible. On the Bank oppoſite to the Ford the *Macrones* were drawn up, armed with Wicker, Shields, Lances, and Corſelets made of Hair, exhorting each other, and caſting Stones into the River; but they all fell ſhort, and did not hurt any of the *Græcians*. Then one of the Targeteers accoſting *Xenophon*, told him, that he had been formerly a Slave at *Athens*, and underſtood the Language of the Men, and I believe added he, that this is my native Country, and I am willing to converſe with them, if you have no Objection againſt it. *Xenophon* ſaid, I have no Objection. But do you converſe with them,

and

and inform yourſelf what People they are. To this Queſtion they returned, that they were the *Macrones*. Then ſaid *Xenophon*, demand from them why they appear in Arms againſt us, and make it their Choice to be our Enemies. They anſwered, Becauſe you are attempting to invade our Country. Then the Generals commanded the Targeteer to aſſure them thus. We came not with a Deſign to do any Injury unto you, but, having been warring againſt the King, We are returning to *Greece*, and ſeeking a Paſſage to the Sea. Then the *Macrones* demanded, if they would give any Pledges of their Sincerity in theſe Things. They replyed, That they were ready to interchange Pledges of Amity with them. Then the *Macrones* delivered to the *Græcians* a *Barbarian*-Lance, and the *Græcians* gave a *Græcian* Lance to the *Macrones*. This they informed them was their Cuſtom of making Treaties; and both invoked the Gods as Witneſſes to the Treaty. After the Ratification thereof, the *Macrones* began to cut down the Trees, and intermingling themſelves with the *Græcians*, made a Way for them to paſs the River. They likewiſe ſold them ſuch Things as their Country produced, and for three Days conducted them through their Territories, till they reached the Mountains of the *Colchans*. In theſe Parts was a very high Mountain, but not difficult of Acceſs, and on this the *Colchans* had poſted themſelves. At firſt the *Græcians* formed themſelves into a Square, in order to approach the Mountain in that Diſpoſition. But it being thought Expedient to call a Council of War, to deliberate about the moſt proper Meaſures of engaging with the Enemy, *Xenophon* declared that his Opinion was, That the Army ſhould march in Companies drawn up by Files, for that a Phalanx

a Phalanx was an improper Diſpoſition, being liable to be broken by the Inequality of the Mountains, which would be found even at one Place, and extremely rugged at another; and the Breaking of the Order of the Phalanx will tend to diſhearten the Men. Beſides if we form our Ranks cloſe, the Enemy will overfront us, and employ to the beſt Advantage thoſe Troops wherewith they exceed us in Front; and if we widen our Ranks, it will be no Wonder if the Multitude of Men and Darts diſorder the Phalanx, and if any one Part be put into Diſorder, the whole Phalanx muſt likewiſe ſuffer. It is my Opinion therefore, that we draw up the Companies by Files at ſuch Intervals, that the extreme Companies may reach beyond the Wings of the Enemy; and thus we ſhall not only overfront their Army, but marching by Files our braveſt Men will begin the Onſet. I would alſo have every Company aſcend the Hill in the leaſt difficult Places; for it will not be eaſy for the Enemy to penetrate into the Intervals, the Files flanking them on each Side, nor will the Files with more Facility be diſordered; for when one File is ſore preſſed by the Enemy, Aſſiſtance from another will be near at Hand. And when one ſingle File ſhall have gained the Top of the Mountain, the Enemy will quit their Poſt. This Advice was unanimouſly acceded to, and the Army was drawn up by Files. *Xenophon* repairing to his Poſt on the Left of the Army, exhorted the Soldiers in theſe Words. Theſe Enemies, O Men, are the only remaining Obſtacle interpoſing between us and that Place, where to arrive we have a long Time ſo earneſtly deſired. It behoves us then to devour thoſe Men, if it were poſſible, even alive. When each Battalion had taken its Poſt,

and was formed into Files, the Heavy-armed consisted of eighty Files, each containing one hundred Men. The Targeteers and Archers were divided into three Bodies, each consisting of near six hundred Men. One was disposed on the Left-Wing, another on the Right, and the Third was posted in the Center. The Troops, by the Command of their Generals having offered up their Prayers to the Gods for Success, sung the *Hymn*, and advanced against the Enemy; who perceiving *Chirisophus* and *Xenophon* with their Bodies of Targeteers in their March reaching beyond their Front, filed off to the Right and Left to oppose them, and by this their Center was left very thin of Troops. The *Arcadian* Targeteers, under the Command of *Æschines* of *Acarnania*, observing the Troops of the Enemy divided, and imagining they had betaken themselves to Flight, gave a great Shout, and ran up the Hill. And these gained the Top first, and were soon followed by the Heavy-armed *Arcadians*, under the Command of *Cleanor* of *Orchomenos*. The Enemy seeing the *Græcians* running toward them, quitted their Post, and fled different Ways. The *Græcians* having reached the Top of the Mountain, took up their Quarters in separate Bodies through the Villages, of which were many in this Place abounding with Necessaries of all Kinds. Here they found a prodigious Number of Hives of Bees, and all the Soldiers that tasted the Honey-Combs, lost their Senses, and (*m*) were seized with such violent Purgings

(*m*) *Pliny* calls this Honey *Mel Manomenon*, and relates that the Bees feeding on the *Rhododendrus* extract a poisonous Juice. But the Honey hath not these deadly Qualities but in such Summers, as succeed Wet Springs. When the Honey is poisonous it may be known by these Qualities. It

Purgings and Vomitings, that they were not able to ſtand upright. Theſe that had eaten little ſeemed like Men intoxicated with Liquor, but thoſe that had eaten immoderately were ſeized with a ſort of Madneſs, and great Numbers lay on the Ground like dead Corps in a Field of Battle after a Fight; ſo that the whole Army was ſtruck with Conſternation. But not one died of this Diſorder, for all of them recovered their Senſes, the next Day, about the ſame Hour they had eaten the Honey. And on the 3d or 4th Day, they roſe from the Ground like Men that had taken a ſleeping Potion. Hence in two Encampments proceeding ſeven Paraſangs they reached the Sea-Coaſt, and arrived at *Trapezus*, ſituate on the *Euxine*-Sea, in the Country of the *Colchans*, being a *Græcian* City, well peopled, and a Colony from *Sinope*. Here they remained thirty Days, and made Inroads into *Colchis*. The Inhabitants of *Trapezus*, exhibited a Market in their Camp, entertained the *Græcians*, and preſented them with Oxen, Bread, and Wine, as Gifts of Hoſpitality. They interceded alſo for the neighbouring *Colchans*, thoſe eſpecially that lived in the Plains, from whom alſo the *Græcians* received Gifts of Hoſpitality, conſiſting for the moſt Part of Oxen. And having now a competent Number of Victims, they performed the Sacrifices they had vowed to *Jupiter the Saviour*, and *Hercules the Leader*, and renewed their Vows to the other Gods. They alſo celebrated *Gymnaſtic*-Games on the

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does not condenſe, it is of a deeper brown Colour, and of a different Smell; it provokes Sneezing, and is very heavy. You may ſee a further Account of the Effects, and the Antidotes for its Poiſon in the 13th Chap. of the 21ſt Book. The *Heptacometæ*, infuſing ſome of this Honey in Liquids, poiſoned three Cohorts of *Pompey*'s Army.

the Mountain, whereon they had pitched their Camp, and *Dracontius* of *Sparta* (who when a Boy, had accidentally ſlain one of his Companions with a Dagger) was appointed to take Care of the Races, and preſide over the Games. The Sacrifices being performed, the Hides of the Victims were delivered to *Dracontius*, and he was ordered to lead them to the Spot of Ground deſigned for the Race. But he, pointing to the Place where they were ſtanding, ſaid, This is a moſt excellent Courſe, make the Goals, which way ſoever you pleaſe. They replyed, how is it poſſible to wreſtle on Ground ſo hard and rugged? He anſwered, The Damage will be the greateſt to him that receives the Fall. The Boys, of whom the greateſt Part were Slaves taken in War, ran the Courſe of the *Stadium*, and more than ſixty *Cretans* ran the (*n*) *Dolichon*. The Wreſtling and Boxing, and both Exerciſes united afforded pleaſant Diverſion, for many entered the Liſts, and the Preſence of their Friends ſtirred up great Emulation. Here was likewiſe a Horſe-Race, at which the Courſe was down the Hill to the Shore, and back again to the Altar. In the Courſe down the Hill, many of the Riders were thrown from their Horſes, but in their Return, the Horſes could ſcarce walk up the Steep; and this adminiſtered great Shoutings, Laughter, and Exhortations.

THE

(*n*) Authors do not agree about the exact Meaſure of this Courſe. Some will have it to be 24 *Stadia*, others 12. Neither of theſe Opinions perhaps is Wrong, it being probable, that there was no ſtated Length for this Courſe, but that it was alterable at the Pleaſure of the Preſident of the Games, and it ſignifies no more, than a Race longer than the Stadium Mr. *Dacier* aſſerts, that the δόλιχον was a Race, where in the Racers ran to the End of the Courſe and back again. but, if I miſtake not, this was the δίαυλος.



THE ASCENT OF *CYRUS* the Younger, &c.

BOOK V.

WE have related at large, in the preceding Books the Tranſactions of the *Græcians* in their Aſcent with *Cyrus*, the various Occurrences in their Retreat to the *Euxine* Sea, their Arrival at *Trapezus* a *Græcian* City, and the Sacrifices which they offered purſuant to their Vows, for the Preſervation of their Lives, as ſoon as they ſhould arrive at a friendly Country.

After

After this, the whole Army meeting in Council, debated on the Remainder of their March, and *Antileon* of *Thurium* riſing firſt, ſpoke in this Manner. My Spirits, O Men, are exhauſted with the various Fatigues of packing up Baggage, and of walking, and of running, and of bearing Arms, and of marching in Ranks, and of watching on Guards, and of engaging with our Enemies; and I would therefore gladly embrace any Opportunity of putting an End to theſe Fatigues. And ſince we have it in our Power to perform the reſt of our Journey by Sea, I would fain, *Ulyſſes* like, (*a*) ſtretched at my Eaſe, be carried ſleeping unto *Greece*. The Soldiers hearing this Speech, ſignified their Approbation of it with loud Acclamations; and the whole Council one after another delivered their Opinion in the ſame Terms. After this *Chiriſophus*, riſing up, ſpoke in this Manner. *Anaxibius*, O Men, with whom I have a ſtrict Friendſhip, is Admiral in theſe Parts. And I doubt not, if you will ſend me with a Deputation from the Army, to obtain from him Gallies and Veſſels to tranſport you. Since therefore it is your Deſire to paſs by Sea into *Greece*, remain in this Place till my Return, which I ſhall endeavour to make with all poſſible Expedition. The Soldiers hearing this were elated with Joy, and made a Decree that he ſhould immediately ſet out by Sea. This Decree being made, *Xenophon* aroſe, and ſpoke to this Purpoſe.

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(*a*) This alludes to the Manner in which the *Phæaces* landed *Ulyſſes* in *Ithaca*. I muſt refer the Reader to the Paſſage in Mr. *Pope*'s Tranſlation.

We have deputed *Chiriſophus* to go away for Shipping, and decreed to remain here ourſelves. I ſhall therefore lay before you thoſe Meaſures that ſeem to me neceſſary to be taken during our Stay. And in the firſt Place we lye under a Neceſſity of ſupplying ourſelves with Proviſions from the Territories of our Enemies; for not only the Market is incompetent to ſubſiſt us, but the greater Part of the Army are in Want of Money to purchaſe Proviſions. The Country round us is alſo on Terms of Enmity with us, ſo that if we go out to forage in a looſe and unguarded Manner, we run the Riſque of being cut in Pieces by the Enemy. This notwithſtanding, I think it expedient, to make Excurſions in order to procure Neceſſaries for our Subſiſtance, and that you comply with our Regulations to prevent you from ſtraggling and running yourſelves into Dangers. Theſe Propoſals they confirmed by a Decree. I now deſire that you will give Attention to what I have yet to offer. It is agreed, that ſome muſt make Excurſions; I think it therefore requiſite, that ſuch as intend to make any Excurſions, communicate to us their Deſign, and the Route they take, that we may be certified what Numbers are abroad, and what remain in the Camp, and that we may neither on Occaſion be unprepared to give them Aſſiſtance, nor at a Loſs to know where our Aſſiſtance is neceſſary. And if any one, of leſs Experience in War, propoſes an Expedition, that it be referred to us to get the beſt Information poſſible of the Forces of the Enemies, againſt whom ſuch Enterprize ſhall be intended. Theſe Things alſo were confirmed by a Decree. Obſerve this

ſo

alſo, added he; our Enemies will have frequent Opportunities of preying on us, and juſt Reaſon to lie in wait for us; for we have ſeized on their Rights. They are alſo Maſters of the Hills that lie above us: In my Opinion, therefore, our Camp ſhould be well ſecured by Guards diſpoſed round it; and, if theſe Guards are poſted in Parties at Diſtances from each other, and Scouts ſent out, we ſhall be the leſs expoſed to be hunted after by our Enemies. I would alſo have you take this under Deliberation. If it were undoubtedly certain, that *Chiriſophus* would return with Shipping ſufficient to tranſport the whole Army, what I am now going to offer would be unneceſſary. But, as we have no Certainty of his Succeſs, it is my Opinion, that Endeavours be uſed to procure Shipping even in this Place; for ſhould we furniſh ourſelves with Tranſports here, and he return with others, our Paſſage will be the more commodious; but ſhould he diſappoint our Expectations, we may make Uſe of thoſe that we ſhall have procured at this Place. I obſerve Ships frequently ſailing by this Coaſt; now if we ſollicit the *Trapezuntines* for Gallies, and bring in hither ſuch Ships, and taking off their Rudders lay them up, till we have a competent Number to contain the Army, we ſhall not be deſtitute of proper Means for our Tranſportation. This likewiſe was decreed. You are, moreover, added he, to conſider, whether the Mariners of ſuch Veſſels as ſhall be brought in hither on our Account, are to be maintained out of the publick Stock while they are detained here, and whether we pay them for their Freight

Freight in return for their Services to us. Theſe Propoſals they likewiſe decreed. Moreover, continued he, it is my Opinion, that if we cannot bring Matters ſo to bear, as to get Shipping ſufficient to tranſport us, that we injoin the Cities lying on the Sea-Coaſt, to put the Roads, which by Report are very bad, into good Repair; and to this, their Fears and earneſt Deſire to get rid of us, will cauſe a ready Compliance. Then a great Clamour aroſe, that there was no Neceſſity of repairing the Roads. *Xenophon*, ſeeing their inconſiderate Rage, put it not to the Vote, but repreſenting to the Cities that the Army would depart out of the Country, if the Roads were made eaſy for travelling, he prevailed on them to level the Roads. The *Trapezuntines* alſo granted them a Galley of fifty Oars, of which *Deæippus*, a *Lacedæmonian* born near *Sparta*, was appointed Commander. But he, regardleſs of his Orders to ſeize all Manner of Shipping, ran away with the Ship, and quitted the *Pontus*. But he afterward received a juſt Recompence of this unfaithful Dealing, for engaging himſelf in an unneceſſary Quarrel with *Seuthes* in *Thrace*, he was put to Death by *Nicander* the *Lacedæmonian*. They obtained alſo a Galley of thirty Oars, of which they appointed Captain *Polycrates* of *Athens*, who brought into the Camp the Prizes which he took. Their Loadings were taken out, and Guards placed, that they might not be embezled, and the Veſſels were laid up for the Tranſportation of the Army.

In the mean time, the *Græcians* made Excurſions, in which they had, at ſome times, Succeſs, and at other times they returned empty.

Cleænetus with two Companies, attempting a fortified Town, was, with moſt of his Party ſlain by the Enemy. It being now no longer practicable to go out to forage and return again the ſame Day to the Camp, *Xenophon* provided himſelf with Guides from the *Trapezuntines*, and made an Inroad into the Country of the *Drilans* with one half of the Army, and left the other half to guard the Camp againſt any Attempt from the *Colchans*, who having been forced from their Habitations, were drawn together in great Numbers, and had lodged themſelves on the Tops of the Hills. The *Trapezuntines* did not conduct the Army into the Territories of their Friends, whence Neceſſaries might have been procured with great Facility; but without any Heſitation led them againſt the *Drilans*, from whom they had ſuffered much Miſchief. They lived in a mountainous Country, difficult of Acceſs, and were reputed the moſt warlike Nation on the *Euxine* Sea. As ſoon as the *Græcians* entred their Territories, the *Drilans* abandoned and ſet Fire to ſuch Places as were not tenable, ſo that they could meet with nothing but Swine, Oxen, and other Cattle that had eſcaped the Flames. There was one Place of great Strength, which they called their Metropolis, whither was a Conflux of all the Natives. It was ſurrounded with a very deep Hollow, and all the Avenues to it were of very difficult Acceſs. The Targeteers running five or ſix Furlongs before the Heavy-armed, paſſed the Hollow, and, perceiving Plenty of Sheep and other Neceſſaries, advanced to the Metropolis, and were followed by a conſiderable Number of

Spearmen

(*b*) Spearmen, that attended in this Expedition to provide themſelves with Neceſſaries; ſo that thoſe, that had paſſed the Hollow, were more than 2000 Men. But miſcarrying in their Attempt to ſtorm the Town (for it was ſurrounded with a wide Trench fortified with Palliſadoes on the Rampart, and defended with many Towers built of Wood) they endeavoured to make their Retreat; but the Enemy preſſed ſo hard on them that a Retreat was impracticable; for the Paſſage from the Fort to the Hollow Bottom would admit but one Man a-Breaſt. On this they ſent a Meſſenger to acquaint *Xenophon* who commanded the Heavy-armed, that the Place was ſtored with Plenty of Things, and that it was ſo ſtrongly fortified that they could not make themſelves Maſters of it, that it was alſo equally difficult to retreat, for that the Enemy had ſallied out and kept them in Action, and the Way by which they muſt retreat was extremely ſtraight. *Xenophon* hearing this, advanced with the Heavy-armed to the Hollow-bottom, and, having ordered his Men to lay down their Arms, he paſſed over with the Captains, and took a View of the Place. Then he asked their Advice, whether he ſhould bring off thoſe that had paſſed over, or, leading

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(*b*) From whence came theſe Spearmen? We have hitherto had no Mention made of any ſuch Soldiers. I am of Opinion that it is an Error in the Tranſcriber for Σκευοφοροι Baggage-Bearers, who attended the Army to carry off the Booty. And this ſeems the more probable from two other Paſſages. One is where they are termed Ἄνθρωποι a Term never uſed by *Xenophon* for a Party of armed Men; the other is where they are called the unſerviceable Part of the Army; for if they were armed Men they were certainly of Service againſt the Enemy.

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on the heavy-armed Troops, make a further Attempt to take the Place. They all unanimouſly declared that a Retreat could not be made without great Loſs, and that the Place was not impregnable. *Xenophon* in Confidence of the Sacrifices, which foretold an Engagement, of which the Event would be ſucceſsful, acceded to their Opinion, and ordered the Captains to bring over the heavy-armed Troops, while he rallied the Targeteers, whom he would by no Means permit to skirmiſh with the Enemy. When the Heavy-armed came up, he ſent Inſtructions to the Captains to draw up their Companies in ſuch Diſpoſition as they ſhould judge to be moſt commodious for the future Engagement; for the Captains who had a military Contention for Valour, ſtood near one another. Theſe Inſtructions were put in execution by the Captains. Orders were alſo tranſmitted to the Targeteers, to hold the Straps of the Javelins in their Hands, and to the Archers to fix their Arrows on their Bows, and to the Slingers to fill their Scrips with Stones; and that they ſhould all be in a Readineſs to diſcharge their ſeveral Weapons at the Word of Command. He appointed alſo proper Officers to ſee theſe Orders executed. There was now nothing wanting to begin the Attack; the Captains, and Lieutenants, and thoſe that were ambitious of being reputed in no wiſe inferior to them, ſtood with their Eyes fixed on each other; and the Nature of the Ground contributed to give a graceful Appearance to the Army. The Hymn being ſung, and the Trumpet having ſounded, the Soldiers gave a martial Shout, and the Heavy-armed ran toward the Enemy; and in an Inſtant was made a Diſcharge of Javelins,

Darts,

Darts and Stones from Slings. There was likewiſe many Stones thrown from the Hand. Some alſo caſt Firebrands. The Enemies were by the Multitude of Weapons beat off from their Battlements and Towers; ſo that *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, and *Philoxenus* of *Pellene*, laying down their Arms, ſcaled the Rampart in their Coats, and helped up their Companions. Others alſo by this time had ſcaled the Rampart, ſo that the Place in Appearance was taken. The Targeteers and Light-armed having entred the Town, minded nothing but Plunder; but *Xenophon* perceiving a Party of the Enemies on a ſtrong Eminence, ſtood in the Gate, and prevented as many as he could of the Heavy-armed from entring the Place. Not long after was a great Outcry within the Walls, the *Græcians* betook themſelves to Flight, ſome brought off their Plunder, but others came not off without Wounds. The Gates were thronged with Run-aways, who reported, that there was a ſtrong Citadel within the Town, from which the Enemies ſallying out in great Numbers, had put thoſe that had entred to the Rout. Then *Xenophon* ordered *Tolmides* the Herald to make Proclamation, that Liberty was granted to the whole Army to enter and plunder the Town. Then great Numbers entered, and preſſing forward, beat back the Enemies that had ſallied out, and ſhut them up in the Citadel. The Heavy-armed laid their Arms down either on the Rampart, or in the Way that led to the Citadel; and whatever the Enemy had not conveyed thither, the *Græcians* plundered and carried off. *Xenophon* and the Captains being of Opinion, that the taking of the Citadel would favour their Retreat, which would otherwiſe be extremely difficult,

difficult, took a View of it, and they all agreed that it was impregnable. Then they prepared for their Retreat, and broke down the Palliſadoes; and the Captains retaining thoſe only whoſe Courage they could depend on, ſent off the unſerviceable Part of the Army with the Plunder, and the greateſt Part alſo of the heavy-armed Troops. As ſoon as they began to draw off, the Enemy armed with Wicker-ſhields, Lances, Graves, and Head-pieces, after the Manner of the *Paphlagonians*, ſallied out of the Citadel, and ſome climbed up to the Top of the Houſes that were built on each Side of the Street that led to the Citadel, and threw down large Beams, ſo that to purſue the Enemy back to the Citadel, to ſtay in the Place where they were, or to retreat, were equally dangerous; the Night alſo approaching, added to their Fears. While they were engaged with the Enemy under theſe diſmal Apprehenſions, ſome God inſpired them with the Means of Safety. For, on a ſudden, a Houſe on the Right appeared in a Blaze, but by what Means it happened they knew not. This was no ſooner conſumed by the Flames, than the Enemy quitted all the Houſes on the right Side of the Street, *Xenophon* perceiving the good Effect of this Accident, gave Orders to ſet Fire to the Houſes on the left Side of the Street. Theſe, being built of Wood, were inſtantly in Flames, ſo that the Enemies were conſtrained to abandon theſe alſo. They had now nothing to fear but from the Enemy in their Front, who would certainly fall on them, both as they ſhould retreat out of the Town, and as they ſhould march down the Hill. To prevent this, and keep the Enemies buſied on all Hands, he orders

all

all that were without Reach of the Enemies Darts, to fetch Wood, and lay it in the Interval between them and the Enemy, and having raiſed a great Pile, he ſet Fire to it, and to all the Houſes on the Rampart. Their Retreat was attended with great Difficulties, tho' the Pile was in Flames between them and the Enemy. The Buildings of the whole City, the Palliſadoes, and Towers were reduced to Aſhes, and nothing but the Citadel eſcaped the Flames. The next Day the *Græcians* ſet out for their Camp with Store of Proviſions; but the Road to *Trapezus* being ſteep and narrow, they were afraid of an Attack from the Enemy in their Deſcent, and therefore placed a falſe Ambuſcade. One *Myſus* a *Myſian*, with four or five *Cretans*, made a Feint as if they had a Deſign to conceal themſelves in a Thicket from the Enemy, but their Shields being of Braſs, caſt a glimmering Light through the Buſhes, which, being diſcerned by the Enemy, gave them all the Terror of a real Ambuſcade. In the mean time, the Army having reach'd the Bottom of the Hill, the *Myſian* concluded that they were out of Danger, and gave the Signal to his Companions for Flight, and, ruſhing out of the Thicket, they took to their Heels. The *Cretans*, fearing to be overtaken by the Enemy, quitted the Road, and throwing themſelves into a Wood, rolled down a Precipice into the Valley, and made their eſcape to the Army. But the *Myſian* taking his Flight along the Road, and calling out for Aſſiſtance, a Party was detached that brought him off, after he had been wounded by the Enemy; who, preſſing hard on the Party, they retreated ſlowly, the *Cretans* keeping the Enemy off

off with their Arrows. And by theſe Means they returned to the Camp without the Loſs of a Man.

As *Chiriſophus* was not yet returned, neither were there Ships to tranſport the Army, nor a Poſſibility of procuring Proviſions for it, they came to a Reſolution of marching off by Land. The Sick, and the Soldiers above forty Years of Age, with their Children, Women, and the unneceſſary Part of the Baggage, they put on Shipboard under the Care of *Phileſius* and *Sophænetus*, the two oldeſt Generals. The reſt of the Army proceeded by Land. The Roads were levelled, and on the third Day they reached *Ceraſus*, a *Græcian* Colony from *Sinope*, on the Sea-Coaſt of *Colchis*. Here they continued ten Days, and the Army, on a Muſter, was found to amount to 8600 Men. Theſe remained of about 10,000, the reſt having periſhed either by the Enemy, by the Snows, or by Sickneſs. At this Place they ſold their Priſoners, and made a Diviſion of the Money. The Tenth of it they appropriated to *Apollo* and *Diana* of *Epheſus*, and each General received a Part of what was reſerved for the Gods. *Neon* of *Aſine* received the Share of *Chiriſophus*. *Xenophon* with Part of his Share made an Offering to *Apollo*, and inſcribing on it his own Name, with the Name of *Proxemus*, who was his Hoſt, and had been put to Death with *Clearchus*, he placed it in the Treaſury of the *Athenians* at *Delphos*. When he left *Aſia* to attend *Ageſilaus* in his Expedition againſt the *Bœotians*, apprehending that he might be in Danger of his Life in the Engagement that afterward happened at *Choronea*, he depoſited the Money aſſigned for

Diana

Diana of *Epheſus*, with (*c*) *Megabyzus* the Overſeer of her Temple, on Condition that it ſhould be reſtored to him if he eſcaped the Peril of the War, otherwiſe he left him at Liberty to make an Offering in that Shape which he ſhould judge would be moſt acceptable to the Deity. *Xenophon* after his Exile lived in *Scyllus*, a Town inhabited by the *Lacedæmonians*, near *Olympia*. *Megabyzus* coming to be a Spectator of the *Olympic* Games, reſtored to him the Money that had been depoſited in his Hands. With this Sum *Xenophon* purchaſed to the Goddeſs a Portion of Ground, which he had been admoniſhed by the Oracle to purchaſe. Thro' this Place ran a River called *Sellenus*, which is alſo the Name of the River that runs by the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*. Both Rivers abound with Shell, and Fin-fiſh; but in *Scyllus* are all Kinds of wild Beaſts that afford the Diverſion of Hunting. He likewiſe built a Temple to the Goddeſs with the conſecrated Money, and the Tenth of the Fruits of the Ground he conſigned for Sacrifices to the Goddeſs. All the Inhabitants of the Town and adjacent Country, both Men and Women, aſſiſted at the Celebration of this Feſtival. The Attendants of the Temple were allowed out of the

(*d*) *Megabyzus* was the proper Name of all thoſe that bore this Office. *Strabo* calls this Officer *Megalobyzus*. And *Pliny* ſays, that the *Megabyzus* was the Prieſt of *Diana*; to whom, perhaps, was entruſted the Care of the Temple. This Officer was caſtrated, no Man being allowed to offer Sacrifices to this chaſte Goddeſs The pompous Proceſſion of the *Megabyzus* is largely and elegantly deſcribed by *Xenophon* the *Epheſian*. It was thought worthy of the Pencil of *Apelles* as *Pliny* aſſures us, who enumerates it amongſt the Works of that famous Painter.

Revenues of the Goddeſs, Meat, Bread, Wine, ſome Pieces of Silver, and Fruits. They received alſo a Share of the Victims that were fed on the conſecrated Ground, and of the Prey taken in Hunting. During the Feſtival the Sons of *Xenophon*, and other young Citizens, followed the Diverſion of Hunting, of which every one had the Liberty to partake. Boars, Goats, and Stags, were the Beaſts they took partly within the conſecrated Ground, partly at *Pholoe*. This Place is about twenty Furlongs from the Temple of *Jupiter*, in the Road that leads from *Lacedæmon* to *Olympia*. Within the conſecrated Ground are Meadows, Forreſts, and Hills, covered with Trees, that afford good Paſture for Boars, Goats, Sheep, and Horſes; ſo that even the Beaſts of thoſe that come on this Occaſion may be ſaid to partake of the Feſtival. The Temple was ſurrounded with a Grove of all Kinds of Fruit-trees that the Seaſons produce, and the Temple was built after the Form of the Temple at *Epheſus*, and the Statue was after the Model of the (*d*) Statue there, as near as Cypreſs is imitative of Gold. At the end of the Temple was erected a Column with this Inſcription.

(*d*) Authors vary in their Accounts of this Nature; for ſome aſſert, that it was made of Gold, which other Writers contradict. Perhaps this Diſagreement may be owing to the Difference of the Statue at the different Times in which they wrote; and before the burning of the Temple by *Eroſtratus* in the time of *Philip*, this Statue might have been (as *Xenophon* writes) made of Gold, and after the Re-building of the Temple, of Wood, Braſs, or ſome other Metal.

Ground

Ground conſecrated to Diana.

Let the Poſſeſſor make a yearly Offering of the Tenth of the Fruit. With the Remainder let the Temple be kept in Order. If he neglects this, he will feel the Diſpleaſure of the Goddeſs.

Thoſe that had embarked on Ship-board continued their Courſe by Sea from *Ceraſus*, the reſt proceeded by Land. When they came to the Mountains of the (*e*) *Moſynecians*, they ſent *Timeſitheus* of *Trapezus*, who had been their (*f*) publick Hoſt at that City, to demand whether they ſhould march thro' their Territories as Friends or Enemies. But the *Moſynecians* confiding on their ſtroug Towns, made Anſwer, that their Friendſhip and Enmity were both alike. On this *Timeſitheus* repreſented to the *Græcians*, that a part of the *Moſynecians* that lived beyond theſe People, was at War with them. Theſe they

(*e*) This Nation had its Name from their Cuſtom of living ἐν Μοσύνοις in Towers. They are called by other Authors *Moſtyni* and *Moſyni*. *Strabo* gives them the Name of *Heptacometæ* from their living ἐν ἑπτὰ κυμαῖς in ſeven Villages, or perhaps according to *Diodorus Siculus*, from their living in Towers with ſeven Stories.

(*f*) In every City were certain Citizens appointed to receive and entertain Embaſſadors, and all other Perſons who came to the City on Matters of public Importance. And theſe Citizens were named public Hoſts.

propoſed

propoſed to invite to join in a Confederacy againſt their Neighbours, and, *Timeſitheus* being commiſſioned to go unto them, brought to the Camp the chief Men among them. At their Arrival the *Græcian* Generals had a Conference with them-and *Xenophon* making uſe of *Timeſitheus* for an Interpreter, ſpoke to them in this Manner. It is our Intention, O *Moſynecians*, being unprovided with Shipping, to paſs over by Land into *Greece*, and thoſe who oppoſe our Deſires, are, as I am informed, likewiſe Enemies to you. If then, to revenge yourſelves for the Injuries you have received, or to reduce them under your Power, are wiſhed for by you, we freely offer you our Aſſiſtance thereunto. And if you reject our Friendſhip, conſider whence you can propoſe to yourſelves hereafter ſo potent Confederates. To this the chief of the *Moſynecians* replyed, that he had thoſe things very much at Heart, and accepted of their Alliance. Then *Xenophon* ſaid what Meaſures muſt we take to render our Alliance ſerviceable to you? And by what Means do you propoſe to promote our Paſſage thro' the Country? They replyed, we are capable both to attack our common Enemies on the Side adjoining to us, and to ſend by Sea ſome Forces to your Aſſiſtance, and Guides to conduct you thro' the Country. On this a Treaty was concluded, and Pledges of Amity interchanged. Then the *Moſynecians* departed, and the next Day returned with 800 Boats. Each of theſe was cut out of a ſingle Tree, and carried three Men, of whom two came on Shore, and formed themſelves in Order of Battle, the other remained in and ſailed back with the Boat. This was the Manner of diſpoſing themſelves in Battle-Array; they drew up about one Hundred

dred in a Company, oppoſite to each other like a Sett of Dancers; they had Wicker-Shields, reſembling the Shape of an Ivy-Leaf, covered with white hairy Hides. In their right Hand they brandiſhed a Javelin ſix Cubits in Length, headed with Iron, which was ſharpened before, and, ſurrounding the Shaft, ended behind in an oval Figure. Their Coats, which were as thick as Carpets, reached no lower than their Knees. Their Heads were defended with Helmets made of Hides after the Manner of the *Paphlagonians*, with a Tuft of Hair riſing in the Middle in Form of a Tiara. They were alſo armed with Pole-Axes of Iron. Then one of them began a Song, in which they all joined, and marching on to the Tune, they paſſed thro' the Ranks of the *Græcians*, and advanced againſt the Enemy to a Fort, which in Appearance was eaſy to be taken. It was ſituate before the City which they called their Metropolis. This was the chief Seat of the Community, and for this they were at continual Variance; for the whole Nation of the *Moſynecians* paid Homage to thoſe that were Maſters of it. They alledged, that it was the Property of the whole Community, and that the preſent Poſſeſſors had unjuſtly encroached on the Right of others. The Hopes of Plunder, induced ſome of the *Græcians*, without Orders from their ſuperior Officers, to accompany the Barbarians. The Enemy contained themſelves within the Fort, till they were advanced cloſe to the Walls, and then, ruſhing out, they put them to the Rout, and ſlew the greateſt Part of the Barbarians with ſome of the *Græcians*, and continued the Chace till they ſaw the reſt of the *Græcians* advancing to their Aſſiſtance. Then they made

made their Retreat, and cutting off the Heads of the Slain, held them out to the *Græcians* and their native Enemies, dancing and ſinging according to the Cuſtom of the Country. The Flight of the *Græcians*, of whom a conſiderable Number had been engaged in this Rout, greatly afflicted the Army, inaſmuch as it raiſed the Confidence of the Enemy, and they had not hitherto from the Beginning of the Expedition been foiled by an Enemy. On this Account *Xenophon* aſſembling the Soldiers, ſpoke to them in this Manner. Men and Soldiers, Let not the Iſſue of the late Engagement, be unto you the Cauſe of any Uneaſineſs; for the Advantage that accrues to us from thence, over-balances the Loſs we have received. For in the firſt Place, you may be aſſured, that the Variance of thoſe, who have undertaken to conduct us, with our Enemies is real and no Artifice; and thoſe *Græcians* that neglected our Diſcipline, and vainly thought themſelves capable of executing with Barbarians, thoſe glorious Actions that they had performed in Conjunction with you, have ſuffered for their Preſumption; ſo that they will not hereafter be ſo forward to lay aſide our Diſcipline. It is therefore incumbent on you to uſe your Endeavours to make the *Barbarians* with whom you are in League, ſenſible of a Superiority over them, and to give your Enemies Proofs, that they have not to do with ſuch Men as thoſe they attacked under the Advantages of Diſorder and Confuſion.

That Day paſſed without any Action, but the next Day, having ſacrificed happily, they took their Dinner, and after that, having drawn up the Army by Files, diſpoſing the *Barbarians* in the

he ſame Order on the left, they marched againſt he Enemy. Between the Files of the Heavy-rmed they interſperſed the Archers at ſmall Di-ances from the Front. A Party of light-armed Troops from the Enemy, attacking with Slings he *Græcians*, were repulſed by the Archers and Targeteers. The Heavy-armed advanced ſlowly oward the Fort, where the *Barbarians* and the *Græcians*, that had accompanied them, had been worſted the preceding Day. Here the Enemy ſtood in Order of Battle, and gave the Targeteers a warm Reception, but inſtantly on the Approach of the Heavy-armed, they turned their Backs, and fled toward the Metropolis. The Targeteers purſued them cloſely, and the Heavy-armed followed in Order of Battle. At the Metropolis the Enemy in one entire Body renewed the Fight, with Javelins and Spears of ſo prodigious a Size, that a Man could ſcarce wield them. With theſe they uſed their utmoſt Efforts by a cloſe Fight, to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *Græcians*. But they giving not in the leaſt back, but on the contrary gaining Ground, the Enemies fled and left the Place defenceleſs. Their King had his Reſidence in a Tower of Wood, built on an Eminence, and he was maintained at the Expence of the Community, on Condition he remained therein, and defended the Place. He refuſed to come out and ſurrender himſelf, as thoſe alſo had refuſed who were in the Fort they had taken before. So they ſet Fire to the Towers and burned them alive. The *Græcians*, plundering the Houſes, found therein Store of Bread, made the preceding Year (as the *Moſynæcians* informed them) and laid up in great Piles. The new Grain, which was for the moſt Part Beer,

lay

lay mixed with the Chaff in Granaries. They alſo found Pieces of Dolphins ſalted in Casks, and their Train in Jars, which they applyed to the ſame Uſes as the *Græcians* do Oyl. Their Garrets were Store-houſes for their Cheſnuts, which were of a large Size, and without any Interſtices; and theſe for the moſt Part ſerved them for Bread. They had likewiſe Wine, whoſe Roughneſs occaſioned a Sharpneſs on the Palate, but when diluted with Water was excellent both for its Flavour and Pleaſantneſs. The *Græcians*, being Maſters of the Place, took their Dinner, and, delivering the Fort into the Hands of their confederate *Moſynæcians*, proceeded on their March, and whatever Places lay in the Way, and were eaſy of Acceſs, the Enemies either abandoned or voluntarily ſurrendred. When they had entred the Territories of their Confederates, they found the Children of the richer Natives fed entirely on boiled Cheſnuts. Their Skins were exceedingly ſoft and white, and the thickneſs of their Bodies was little leſs than their Length; and their Backs and Breaſts were ſtained with the Figures of various Flowers. They ſought to have carnal Knowledge of the Women in the *Græcian* Camp, even in publick View, as was the Cuſtom of the Country. Both Men and Women are naturally fair, and theſe were the moſt barbarous People, and their Cuſtoms were moſt oppoſite to the *Græcian* Manners of any Nation they paſſed thro' in the whole Expedition. For they openly in the Face of a Multitude perpetrated ſuch Actions, as others dare not commit, unleſs with the greateſt Privacy; And the Behaviour of theſe alone, was the ſame as of others in Company. For they would hold a Diſcourſe with themſelves, laugh by themſelves, and

and dance by themſelves, making Stops as their Fancy directed them, as if they were ſhewing their Dexterity to others.

They marched eight Days thro' this Country, Part of which was in the Poſſeſſion of their Friends, and Part pertained to their Enemies, and came to the *Chalybes*. They were a ſmall Nation dependant on the *Moſynæci*, and ſubſiſted chiefly by Iron Mines. Hence they proceeded to the (*g*) *Tibareni*; their Country is infinitely more plain and open than the Country of the *Chalybes*, and their Towns on the Sea-Coaſt are more defenceleſs than the others. The Generals had an Intent to make themſelves Maſters of theſe Towns, that the Army might reap ſome Advantage from the Plunder of them, and therefore they refuſed the Gifts of Hoſpitality that were offered by the *Tibareni*, and ordered them to wait till they ſhould conſult the Gods by Sacrifice. Having offered ſeveral Victims, the Diviners unanimouſly declared that the Gods did not approve of a War. Then they accepted their Preſents, and marching two Days in a friendly Manner thro' their Country, came to *Cotyera*, a *Grecian* City, and a Colony founded by the Inhabitants of *Sinope* in the Country of the *Tibareni*. Hitherto the Army had marched by Land. The Number of Encampments from the Field of Battle in *Babylonia* to *Cotyora* was 122, the Number

(*g*) Theſe People placed their *Summum Bonum* in Mirth and Diverſions. They had a particular odd Cuſtom, which I think was peculiar to them. The Cuſtom was this. When a married Woman was delivered of a Child, the Husband was dreſſed in the Attire of a Woman newly brought to Bed, and attended with all the Care and Circumſpection requiſite to a Woman newly delivered.

of Paraſangs 620, and of Furlongs 18020, and the Length of Time eight Months.

Here they continued 45 Days, and in the firſt Place they offered Sacrifices to the Gods, inſtituted ſolemn Proceſſions according to the Cuſtoms of the ſeveral People of *Greece*, and celebrated Games. They ſupplied themſelves with Neceſſaries, partly from *Paphlagonia*, partly from the Territories of the *Cotyorites*. For they would neither expoſe Proviſions to Sale in their Camp, nor admit the Sick within their Walls. The Citizens of *Sinope* being adviſed that the Country of the *Cotyorites* was laid waſte by the *Græcians*, and fearing both for the City and the adjacent Country (for it being their Colony paid them Tribute) ſent Embaſſadors to the Camp; and *Hecatonymus*, who was reputed an able Orator, ſpoke in the Name of the reſt. The City of *Sinope*, Men and Soldiers, hath ſent us both to render you due Commendations for your Succeſs as *Græcians* againſt *Barbarians*, and to congratulate you on your Preſervation from ſo many and ſo imminent Dangers, as we are informed, you have eſcaped. And we being *Græcians*, make it our Requeſt, that we may receive from you *Græcians* Benefits rather than Injuries; for we never in any Point of Time paſt have behaved in an injurious Manner toward you. The *Cotyorites* are our Colony, which we founded in theſe Parts, after we had expelled the *Barbarians*. And on this Account we receive from them a certain Tribute, as we do likewiſe from the Cities of *Ceraſus* and *Trapezus*. Whatever Injuries therefore you do to them, the City of *Sinope* looks on as done to herſelf. Now we are informed that you have forcibly entred the City of *Cotyora*, that ſome of you have taken up your Quarters

Quarters in the Houſes of the Inhabitants, and violently take what Neceſſaries you ſtand in need of out of their Territories. Theſe are Meaſures which we cannot approve, and if you perſiſt in them, you will put us under a Neceſſity of entring into an Alliance with *Corylas* King of *Paphlagonia*, or ſome other neighbouring Nation.

Xenophon, riſing from his Seat, made this Anſwer in the Name of the whole Army. We, O Men of *Sinope*, reap no ſmall Satisfaction, that we are arrived here with the Preſervation of our Lives and Arms; for it was not poſſible for us to acquire Riches by plundering the Country, and at the ſame Time fight our Way thro' the midſt of Enemies. And ſince our Arrival at *Græcian* Cities we have paid for our Proviſions, as at *Trapezus*, where we were ſupplied with Neceſſaries for our Money; and whatever Honours or Gifts of Hoſpitality we received, we repaid in Honours to them. Neither did we in the leaſt moleſt the *Barbarians* in Amity with them, but their Enemies, againſt whom they led us, received all poſſible Miſchief from us. What our Behaviour hath been, make Enquiry of from thoſe People, for there are preſent thoſe, whom that City ſent with us as Guides, moved thereunto by their Friendſhip for us. And whatever Country, either *Barbarian* or *Græcian* we arrive at, where Neceſſaries are not expoſed to Sale in a Market for us, there Neceſſity, and not Licentiouſneſs, puſhes us on to take them by Force. And we made our ſelves Enemies to the *Carduchans*, and *Chaldæans*, and *Taochans*, Nations truly very formidable, tho' not living in Subjection to the King; Neceſſity conſtraining us to take thoſe Neceſſaries, which they denied to ſell us publickly. But from the *Macrones*,

ans, who were alſo *Barbarians*, we took nothing forcibly, but treated them as Friends, becauſe their Market, tho' indifferent, was ſet out to the utmoſt of their Power. And if we have taken away any thing pertaining to the *Cotyorites* (whom you alledge to be your Colony) the Blame falls wholly on themſelves. For they demeaned themſelves not as Friends towards us, but, ſhutting their Gates, would neither receive us within their Walls, nor ſell us Neceſſaries without the City; and they reproached their Governor, whom they had received from you, as the Author of this rude Behaviour. And whereas you complain that we entered the City forcibly, and took up our Quarters therein, we declare, that we requeſted only that our Sick might be accommodated in their Houſes; and indeed, when they ſtill refuſed to open their Gates and admit us within their Walls, we did then enter in the Manner you alledge, but no other Violence was in the leaſt committed againſt them. For our Sick have indeed their Lodgings within their Houſes, but live at their own Charges. And we have placed a Guard at the Gates, that our Sick may not lie at the Will of your Governor, but that we may have it in our Power to remove them when we pleaſe. And you are Spectators, that the reſt of the Army have their Quarters in the Field, in a conſtant Readineſs by their good Order to requite the Offices of our Friends, or repell the Inſults of our Enemies. And whereas you menace us with the Aſſiſtance of *Corylas* and the *Paphlagonians*, we, if neceſſitated thereunto, will fight both you and them, for we have ventured in Battle againſt Numbers many Times exceeding yours. And if we think it expedient to enter into a League of Amity

with

with *Corylas*, the *Paphlagonian* will readily accept our Friendſhip. For he hath (as we are informed) no ſmall Hankering after your City and the Towns on the Sea-Coaſt, and we will make the accompliſhing of his Deſires the Terms of obtaining his Friendſhip.

The Embaſſadors joined in Commiſſion with *Hecatonymus*, could no longer hide their Reſentment at his Speech, and one of them going into the Midſt of the Aſſembly, ſpoke thus. That their Intent in coming thither was not to make a Declaration of War, but give manifeſt Proofs of their Friendſhip. And if you will go to *Sinope*, Gifts of Hoſpitality ſhall there attend you. And we ſhall give Orders to our Colony here to make you Preſents according to their Ability; for we are Witneſſes of the Truth of all you tell us. After this, the *Cotyorites* ſent Gifts of Hoſpitality, and the *Græcian* Generals gave to the Embaſſadors from *Sinope* an Entertainment, at which the Converſation turned on Profeſſions of Friendſhip, the Methods of purſuing their March thenceforward, and ſuch particular Matters as might prove advantageous either to the One or the Other. This was the Iſſue of that Day's Conference. The next Day, The Generals aſſembled the whole Army, and invited the *Sinopæans* to be preſent at their Debates about the Remainder of their March. For whether the Reſult ſhould be to march by Land, they thought it of no ſmall Importance to obtain Guides from *Sinope*, for they were acquainted with the Country of *Paphlagonia*; or, if they were to purſue their Journey by Sea, the Aſſiſtance of the *Sinopæans* ſeemed neceſſary, for they alone could ſupply them with Veſſels ſufficient to tranſport the whole Army. The Embaſſadors being ſeated in

the

the Aſſembly, the *Græcians* intreated their Advice, and deſired that they would in the firſt Place acquit themſelves as *Græcians* to *Græcians* both by Acts of Benevolence and the beſt Advice. Then *Hecatonymus*, riſing from his Seat, made an Apology for that Part of his Speech, that referred to an Alliance with the *Paphlagonian*, and ſaid, that an offenſive League againſt the *Græcians* was far from his Thoughts, and that his Intention was to ſhow them, that they preferred the Friendſhip of *Græcians* before *Barbarians*, when it was in their Power to have made Choice of the Latter. And being intreated to aſſiſt them with his Advice, he began with this Prayer. If my Advice is ſuch as I am perſuaded will be moſt advantageous to you, may many Bleſſings then attend me; but if my Advice is the Contrary, may the Reverſe be my Recompence; for the Advice now required, may in my Opinion be juſtly termed ſacred. And if my Advice ſhall hereafter appear to have conduced to your Good, it will be requited with the Thanks of many; but if it be attended with ill, the Curſes of many will fall upon me. I am very ſenſible, that in purſuing your Journey by Sea, the Trouble on our ſide will be infinitely greater, for we ſhall lie under a Neceſſity of ſupplying you with ſhipping: But if you continue your March by Land, the Danger of fighting will reſt on you. But, notwithſtanding that Matters ſtand thus, I will not ſuppreſs any Thing I am acquainted with; for neither the Country, nor Strength of the *Paphlagonians* are unknown to me. Their Country abounds with moſt beautiful Plains, and exceſſively high Mountains, and I can point out to you the Paſſage, by which you muſt enter their Territories. For there is no other Acceſs to it than between

tween the Mountains, whoſe lofty Summits riſe on each ſide of the Road. Theſe may be defended by a very ſmall Number of Men. And if the *Paphlagonians* ſeize on them, no Army, though ever ſo Numerous, can force a Paſſage into their Country; and I ſhall convince any one, whom you ſhall ſend with me of the Truth of what I alledge. Beſides the Nature of their Places, and the Strength of their Cavalry, (with which they imagine themſelves able to cope with the whole Cavalry of the King) are not unknown to me; neither did they at this Time obey the Summons of the great King, for the Prince entertains greater Thoughts of his own Power. But ſuppoſing that you can either by Stealth or Celerity gain the Mountains, nay even beat their whole Forces, both Horſe and Foot, amounting to more than 120000 Men, in a ſet Engagement in the Plain; yet you will meet with Rivers, firſt the *Thermodoon*, three Plethrons broad, the Paſſage over which will be attended with Difficulties, eſpecially when numerous Forces of the Enemy oppoſe your Paſſage in the Front and others no leſs numerous preſs on your Rear. The next River is the *Iris*, which is likewiſe three Plethrons broad. Then you will come to the *Halys*. This River is no leſs than two Furlongs broad; and you can by no means paſs it without Ships, and whence can you poſſibly procure them? And, though you ſhould paſs the *Halys*, you muſt neceſſarily arrive at the *Partheniaus*, the paſſing over which is no leſs impracticable. A March therefore by Land is in my Opinion not in the Number of Things difficult, but of Things impoſſible. But if you ſhall reſolve to proceed by Sea, you may tranſport the Army hence to *Sinope*, and from *Sinope* to *Heraclea*, and from *Heraclea*

you

you may proceed either by Land or Sea, for you will be in no ſtreights for Shipping at *Heraclea*. This was his Speech, which ſome imputed to his Friendſhip for *Corylas*, for he was his publick Host; others to a View of receiving Preſents for this his Advice, and others again to his Fears, leaſt the Territories of the *Sinopeans* might ſuffer by a Land-march. The *Græcians* therefore paſſed a Decree to proceed by Sea; after which *Xenophon* ſpoke thus. Our Soldiers, O Men of *Sinope*, have, conſonant to your Advice, choſen to proceed by Sea; but on this Condition, that the whole Army be provided with Tranſports; ſo that not one of us may be left behind. For, if Part of the Army is to remain here while the Reſt are tranſporting, not one of us will put his Foot on Board; for we are ſenſible, that where we have the Superiority of our Enemies, there we ſhall be free from Danger, and abound with Neceſſaries. But if we are in Strength inferior to them, it is very manifeſt, that we muſt ſubmit to be treated as Slaves. The Embaſſadors, hearing this, deſired them to ſend Deputies to *Sinope*; and they accordingly commiſſioned *Callimachus* of *Arcadia*, *Ariſton* of *Athens*, and *Samolas* of *Achæa*; and they ſet out from the Camp.

In the mean Time, *Xenophon*, conſidering that the Army was compoſed of a conſiderable Number of heavy-armed Troops, Targeteers, Archers, Slingers, and ſome Cavalry, and that long Experience had made them excellent Soldiers, and that they were then on the *Pontus*, where ſo powerful a Force could not be raiſed at a ſmall Expence, thought that it would redound to his Honour, if, by founding a Colony there, he acquired to *Greece* ſo large an Acceſſion of Territories and Power; and

and from a View of their own Number, and the Inhabitants on the *Pontus*, he formed in his Mind an Idea of future Grandeur to them. But before he imparted his Deſign to the Army, he conſulted the Gods by Sacrifice, to which he admitted *Silanus* of *Ambracia*, who had been formerly Diviner to *Cyrus*. But *Silanus*, fearing that this Deſign would Effect, and the Army make a Settlement there, ſpread a Report through the Troops, that *Xenophon*, from a ſiniſter View to his own Honour and Power, had an Intention to found a City with the Troops in thoſe Parts. For *Silanus* had preſerved the 3000 *Darics*, which he had received from *Cyrus* for his Predictions by Sacrifices ten Days before they were verified; and was very deſirous to return into *Greece* as ſoon as poſſible. When this Deſign came to the Ears of the Soldiers, ſome approved of a Settlement, but the greateſt Part were uninclined to it. And *Timaſion* of *Dardania*, and *Thorax* of *Bœotia*, in a Diſcourſe with ſome Merchants of *Heraclea* and *Sinope*, aſſured them, that unleſs they ſupplyed the Troops with Money to furniſh themſelves with Neceſſaries for their Voyage, it was to be feared ſo powerful a Force might make a Settlement on the *Pontus*, and *Xenophon*, added they, hath formed ſuch a Deſign, and hath been tampering with us to deliver, as ſoon as the Tranſports are arrived, this Speech among the Troops. We have, O Men, before our Eyes at preſent a Proſpect of your Calamities, being not only deſtitute of Neceſſaries for your Voyage, but alſo incapacitated to be of Service to your Friends at home. If therefore you will fix on any of thoſe Countries lying on the *Pontus*, full Liberty ſhall be granted to every one, either to return to his native Country, or remain here accord-

ing to his Inclination. For here is Shipping to tranſport you to make a Deſcent on any Part that you ſhall chuſe. The Merchants made a Report of theſe Things to their Cities, and *Timaſion* of *Dardania* ſent *Erymachus* of *Dardania*, and *Thorax* of *Bœotia* to confirm the ſame. The Citizens of *Heraclea* and *Sinope*, having received this Advice, ſent to *Timaſion*, and offered him a certain Sum of Money to prevail with the Army to ſail out of the *Pontus*. This Propoſal was joyfully received, and aſſembling the Troops, he ſpoke to them in this Manner. We ſhould not, O Men, have our Thoughts fixed on a Settlement here, and poſtpone our Return into *Greece* to other Conſiderations. For I am informed that Sacrifices have been conſulted on this Account by ſome, though they have not imparted their Deſigns to you. But if you will ſail hence immediately after the Change of the New-Moon, I promiſe to give every private Man (*h*) a Cyzicene a Month, and I will conduct you to *Troas*, from whence I am an Exile, and my native City, which will receive me with Joy, ſhall be open to you; and I will lead you out to Places where you ſhall enrich yourſelves. Not a Part of *Æolia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, or the whole Government of *Pharnabazus* is unknown to me, Part of it being my native Country, and in the other Parts I ſerved in the War under *Clearchus* and *Dercyllidas*. Then *Thorax* of *Bœotia*, who

(*h*) The Stater *Cyzicenus* was coined at *Cyzicum*, a Colony of the *Mileſians* on the *Propontis*. The Citizens excelled in the Art of Coining, ſo that the Coin of this City was uſed for a finiſhed Piece of Work. It was in Value equal to 28 Attic Drachms, or 18*s*. 1*d*. *Engliſh* Money. When this City was conquered by *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, he melted down this Coin, and coined others of the ſame Value, under the Name of *Stater Philippicus*.

who bore a conſtant Envy to *Xenophon* for his Command, riſing from his Seat without Delay, told them, That if they would ſail out of the *Pontus*, he would put them in Poſſeſſion of the *Cherroneſus*, a delightful and fertile Country. That every one ſhould be at Liberty, either to ſettle there or return to his native Place. That it was a prepoſterous Deſign to go in Queſt of a Dwelling-Place among *Barbarians*, when in *Greece* they might find a large and plentiful Country. And I promiſe, as *Timaſion* has already done, to give you Pay untill your Arrival there. This he ſpoke in Dependance on the Promiſes which the Citizens of *Heraclea* and *Sinope* had made to *Timaſion*, on Condition that the Army ſhould quit the *Pontus*.

To this *Xenophon* made not the leaſt Reply. But *Phileſius* and *Lycon* of *Achæa*, riſing up, made ſome hard Remonſtrances againſt *Xenophon*. That he had formerly in a clandeſtine Manner, uſed Arguments to induce the Army to ſettle there, in Order to which, he had offered Sacrifices, without the Privity of the Army. But that when it was publickly debated, he had nothing to ſay. This put *Xenophon* under the Neceſſity of making a Defence, and ſtanding up, he ſpoke thus. I do indeed, O Men, offer in Sacrifice, as you are very ſenſible, as many Victims as I can procure, both on your Behalf and mine own; that all my Words, Thoughts, and Actions may tend to our common Intereſt and Honour. And my Sacrifices at this Time are to inform myſelf, whether I ought to impart my Deſign to you, and put it in Execution, or entirely drop it. And *Silamus*, the Diviner, aſſured me this, which is of the greateſt Importance, that the Sacrifices were favourable, (for he knew that by my conſtant Attendance at the Sacrifices I was

not

not unskilled in the Omens) and added, that the Sacrifices portended Treachery and Snares againſt me, being truly conſcious of his own perfidious Intention of calumniating me to you, for he was the Author of the Report, that I had reſolved to execute theſe Things without propoſing them to you for your Conſent. Had I perceived you lying under any Difficulties, I ſhould have turned my Thoughts to have found out ſome Expedient, whereby you might have made yourſelves Maſters of a City, from whence you might inſtantly have ſhipped off thoſe that were eager to return to their native Country, and the Reſt, when they ſhould find themſelves in a Condition, of being ſerviceable to their Friends. But ſince I ſee theſe Things done to my Hand, that the Cities of *Heraclea* and *Sinope* are ready to furniſh you with ſhipping, and that ſome Men make you offers of Money, if you will put to Sea after the Change of the New-Moon; it is in my Opinion no deſpicable Offer, that we have the Means of going in Safety where we deſire to be, and are alſo hired to go thither. And I not only deſiſt from my former Intentions, but alſo adviſe all thoſe that concurred with me to deſiſt likewiſe. For this I am well aſſured of, that while you keep together in one Body as you are at preſent, you will neither fail to meet with Reſpect, nor to abound with Neceſſaries for to Conquer and enjoy the Fortunes of the Conquered are the ſame. But if you ſeparate and diſunite your Power into ſmall Bodies, you will neither be able to ſubſiſt yourſelves, nor depart hence at your Pleaſure. I therefore concur with you in your Reſolution to leave the *Pontus*, and proceed on towards *Greece*; and whoever is caught either ſtaying behind, or deſerting the Army, before it be placed

without

without the Reach of Dangers, let that Man be condemned as a Traitor. Whoever is of this Opinion let him hold up his Hand. All held up their Hands; but *Silanus* with great Clamour moved to tell them, that it was juſt that every one ſhould have the Liberty to leave the Army at his Pleaſure. But the Soldiers would not liſten to his Propoſal, but menaced him with ſevere Treatment, if he deſerted the Army.

As ſoon as the *Heracleots* were apprized of the Decree paſt for their Departure, and that *Xenophon* was the Author of it, they ſent Ships, but falſifyed their Promiſes to *Timaſion* and *Thorax* of ſending Money to pay the Troops. This cauſed a great Perplexity and Fear in thoſe that had paſſed their Word to give Pay to the Army, and therefore in Conjunction with the other Generals, to whom they had communicated the Meaſures they had formerly taken (to which they were all privy, excepting *Neon* of *Aſine*, who acted as General in the Abſence of *Chiriſophus*,) they went to *Xenophon* and told him, That they were ſorry for what they had done, and were of Opinion, that they could not do better than ſail unto *Phaſis*, and make themſelves Maſters of the Country of the *Phaſians*, over whom the Son (*i*) of *Æetes* then reigned. *Xenophon* replyed, That he would not offer any ſuch Propoſal to the Army, but if they thought proper they might aſſemble the Troops, and lay it before them. Then *Timaſion* of *Dardania*

(*i*) It was probable that this *Æetes* was of the Poſterity of the firſt *Aetes*, conſtituted King of *Cholchos*, and this Country by *Seſortris* after his great Conqueſts, and whoſe Daughter *Medea* was carried away by *Jaſon*, when he touched on this Country in his Voyage, to ſtir up the ſeveral Princes of *Europe* and *Aſia*, to throw off the *Egyptian* Yoke.

nia declared, That he did not think it adviſeable to aſſemble the Troops, but that they ſhould ſeparately uſe their Endeavours to bring over the Captains in their Battalions over to this Opinion. And taking their Leave of *Xenophon*, they put this Deſign in Execution. The News of what was on the Anvil ſoon reached the Ears of the Soldiers, and *Neon* aſſured them that *Xenophon*, having prevailed with the other Generals, intended to impoſe on them, and lead them into *Phaſis*. This occaſioned a general Commotion through the Army, the Soldiers held frequent Meetings and Cabals, and gave Reaſon to apprehend, that they would vent their Fury on the Officers, as they had done on the *Colchan* Heralds, and the Commiſſaries of the Markets, none of whom eſcaped Stoning, but thoſe that fled to the Sea for Refuge. *Xenophon* being apprized of their Cabals, thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the Army inſtantly, and not leave them at Liberty to convene of their own Accord. And he gave Orders to a Herald to aſſemble the Soldiers, who as ſoon as the Proclamation was made, ran without Delay to the Aſſembly. Here *Xenophon*, without any previous Accuſation of the other Generals for their Remonſtrances to him, addreſſed the Soldiers in this Manner. I am informed, O Men, that I ſtand accuſed by a certain Perſon of fraudulent Dealings toward you, and a Deſign of carrying you into *Phaſis*. I beſeech you therefore by the Gods to give me a patient Hearing, and if I ſhall appear criminal in your Eyes, you ought not to permit me unpuniſhed to leave this Aſſembly. But if the Authors of this Accuſation againſt me, ſhall appear to be the Perſons guilty, let your Reſentment be according to their Demerits. You are not ignorant in what Point of the Heavens the

Sun

Sun riſes and where it Sets; and that to go into *Greece* you muſt direct your Courſe toward the *Weſt*; and to go to the *Barbarians* you muſt on the Contrary turn to the *Eaſt*. Is it poſſible then, that any one can ſo far impoſe on you, as to make you believe that the Sun riſes on this Hand, and ſets on that, or riſes on that Hand, and ſets on the other? You are alſo ſenſible that the North-wind carries you out of the *Pontus* toward *Greece*, and the South into the *Pontus* toward *Phaſis*. And it is a common Saying, when the Wind is North, that it is a fair Wind for *Greece*. Can you then be ſo blindly deceived as to embark when the Wind is South? But perhaps the Embarkation will be in a Calm. But ſhall not I be on Board of a ſingle Ship, and you on Board of an 100 at leaſt? How then is there Room either by Violence or Deceit, to carry you to any Part againſt your Wills? But I ſhall by the Power of ſome Deluſion or Enchantment conſtrain you to go, even againſt your Inclinations, to *Phaſis*. Well, granting it were ſo, we ſhall without doubt go aſhore, and you will diſcern that you are not in *Greece*, and I who have deceived you ſhall be one Man only, and you, who are deceived by me, near 10000 Men compleatly armed. What Steps then can any Man take more infallibly tending to his Deſtruction, than the forming of ſuch Deſigns for himſelf and you? But theſe are the Reports of Men void of common Senſe, who with Envy behold the Honours that are paid me by you; and truly their Envy is unjuſtly placed; for, do I debar any one of the Liberty of propoſing any Thing for the common Good? Do I oppoſe the Inclinations of any one to fight for your and his own Intereſt, or his Vigilance and Care for your Safety? Am I an Obſtacle to the Preferment

of

of any one at the Election of Officers, I resig my Power, let him take the Command, on Condition that he make it appear that it will tend to the publick Good? What I have ſpoken I think ſufficient for my Defence, and if any one thinks either himſelf or his Friend impoſed on by my Words let him freely declare it.

Since then you are ſatisfied with my Defence as to theſe Things, I deſire that you would not diſſolve this Aſſembly, till I have laid before you an Affair, which I perceive ſpringing up in the Army, and if it gathers Strength, and the Event be ſuch, as it threatens, it is high Time for us to provide for ourſelves, leaſt we render ourſelves the vileſt and moſt wicked of all Mortals, in the Sight both of the Gods and of Mankind, both of our Friends and our Enemies, and bring ourſelves into the greateſt Contempt. The Soldiers hearing this, were filled with Aſtoniſhment, and commanded him to make known the Affair to them. Then he went on in this Manner. You know that the *Barbarians*, that were in Amity with the City of *Cerafus*, and inhabited the Mountains, came down to our Camp, and ſold to us Victims, and what other Things their Country produced. And, if I am not miſtaken, ſome of you went to their neareſt Towns, and, having purchaſed what you wanted, returned again to the Camp. *Clearatus*, one of your Captains, underſtanding that one of their Towns was not only of little Strength, but that alſo, having no Apprehenſion of an Attack from us, was remiſs in keeping a Guard, made his March againſt it by Night, with a Deſign to plunder the Place. And this was done without our Privacy; for his Intent was, if he had ſucceeded therein, to have returned no more to the Army, but to have embark-

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ed with his Booty on Board of a Ship, wherein his Companions were coaſting along the Shore, and to have ſailed out of the *Pontus*. And that this Agreement was made between him and his Comrades in the Ship, I doubt not in the leaſt. He therefore marched to the Town, with as many as he could prevail on to join with him in this Enterprize. But the Day breaking while he was yet on his March, the Inhabitants were alarmed, and ſo warmly with their Slings and Javelins received their Enemies that *Clearatus* and moſt of his Party were ſlain; and a few only made their Eſcape to *Ceraſus*. This Affair happened on that Day, in which we ſet out by Land on our march for this Place. But ſome of thoſe that were to have coaſted along the Shore, had not yet put to Sea from *Ceraſus*. After this, as the *Ceraſuntines* aſſure me, three venerable Men came thither from their Town, to intreat an Admittance to our general Aſſembly; but finding us not there, they told the *Ceraſuntines*, that they wondered what could induce us to fall on them. But when they were aſſured that that Enterprize had not been undertaken by the publick Conſent, they were ſatisfied and deſigned to have come hither to us by Sea, to have repreſented to us the whole Affair; and to have granted us Liberty to have fetched off and buried our Slain. Some of our Men that had eſcaped from that Enterprize were yet at *Ceraſus*, and perceiving the Intention of the *Barbarians*, threw Stones at them, and induced others to do the ſame. Thus thoſe Men, three in Number, and Embaſſadors to us, loſt their Lives being ſtoned to Death. Matters having fallen out in this Manner, the *Ceraſuntines* came to our Camp and make Remonſtrances to us; and we the Generals were filled

with Sorrow at this Event, and conſulted with the *Ceraſuntines* how we might recover the Slain. But while we were ſitting together without the Guard, we were on a ſudden diſturbed with a tumultuous Noiſe of People crying, ſtrike, ſtrike, throw, throw, and inſtantly great Numbers appeared in Sight, running toward us, ſome with Stones in their Hands, and others lifting them from the Ground. And the *Ceraſuntines*, having been Spectators of a ſimilar Caſe, ran away in great Dread to their Ships. And, by *Jove*, ſome of us alſo were not void of Fear. But I went unto them and demanded from them the Occaſion of this Uproar; and many of them, even though they had Stones in their Hands, were ignorant of the Cauſe. At laſt I met with one that knew the Cauſe of it, and he told me, that the Commiſſaries of the Market treated the Army very cruelly. And in this Inſtant one of them eſpying *Zelarchus* the Commiſſary making the beſt of his Way to the Sea, cryed out, and the Reſt hearing the Noiſe, ran after him, as if they had been chaſing a wild Boar or a Stag. And the *Ceraſuntines* perceiving the Soldiers running toward themſelves, and imagining that they were the Objects of their Fury, made all poſſible Haſte, and threw themſelves into the Sea. Some of our own Officers alſo caſt themſelves haſtily into the Water, and as many as could not Swim loſt their Lives. Now what Judgment do you paſs on ſuch Actions? The Men had done no Injury to us, and they were afraid that we had been ſeized with a Madneſs like Dogs. If ſuch Things as theſe are permitted, reflect upon the Conſtitution which will prevail in the Army. The Power of entering into, or putting an End to any War will no longer remain in the whole Body of the Army, but

any

any private Perſon will lead out the Army on any Expedition he pleaſes; and if any Embaſſadors come to negotiate a Peace or any other Affair with you, by their Murther any ſelf-intereſted Perſons will put it out of your Power to give them an Audience. Beſides thoſe Officers that have been choſen by the general Suffrage of the Army will have on Authority; and if any one by his own private Suffrage elect himſelf General, and give his Orders, ſaying, ſtone him, ſtone him, this Man, if he can perſuade any of the Soldiers to obey his Orders, as happened in the late Affair, will have the Power to put to Death, either Officer or Soldier without the Liberty of making his Defence. But conſider what thoſe ſelf-elected Generals have done for us. *Zelarchus* the Commiſſary, if he is guilty of any Miſdemeanour againſt us, hath eſcaped the Puniſhment due to his Crimes. But if he is not guilty, he quits the Army for fear of dying in an unjuſt Manner, without a legal Trial. And by the Violent ſtoning of the Embaſſadors, we alone of all the *Græcians* cannot enter the City of *Ceraſus* free from Danger, unleſs ſupported by a powerful Force. And we cannot ſafely treat, even by an Herald, about fetching off our Dead, to bury whom thoſe that ſlew them formerly granted us Liberty; for who among you, that has been guilty of the Murder of Heralds, will take on himſelf that Character? But we have now entreated the *Ceraſuntines* to give them Burial. If you approve of ſuch Things, let your Approbation be confirmed by your Decree, that in Conſequence thereof, every one may keep a private Watch over his own Perſon, and take up his Quarters in a Place of Security. But if theſe ſeem the Actions of Brutes, rather than of Men, it is incumbent on you to find out ſome Remedy

for

for them; which if you neglect to do, how can we either offer Sacrifices to the Gods with Pleaſure, while we are guilty of ſuch impious Crimes, or fight againſt our Enemies, while we are cutting one another's Throats? What City, that obſerveth ſuch enormous Practices amongſt us, will receive us in a friendly Manner within its Walls? And who will have the Courage to vend us any Thing, if we appear to be Tranſgreſſors in the moſt momentous Affairs? If we hope for Praiſe, what Praiſe or Commendation will be our Reward, if we behave in this Manner? I am ſure that if others were guilty of the like Actions, we ſhould brand them with the Name of flagitious Perſons.

Then the whole Aſſembly, riſing from their Seats, declared that the Authors of ſuch Crimes ſhould be puniſhed, and that ſuch enormous Practices ſhould not be ſuffered for the future; and that ſuch Offenders ſhould ſuffer Death, and that the Generals ſhould be Judges in ſuch Caſes. They likewiſe decreed, That a Scrutiny ſhould be made into all Abuſes committed ſince the Death of *Cyrus*, and herein the Captains were appointed to ſit Judges. They alſo paſſed a Decree, by the Propoſal of *Xenophon*, backed by Advice of the Divines, that there ſhould be a Luſtration to purify the Army. And a Luſtration was made. A Decree was likewiſe made, That the Generals ſhould ſubmit their paſt Behaviour to an Enquiry; and *Phileſius* and *Xanthicles* were fined 20 *Minæ*, for embezling the Effects of the Ships entruſted to them, and *Sophænetus* was fined 10 *Minæ*, for refuſing to take that Charge on himſelf. An Accuſation alſo was brought againſt *Xenophon* for beating ſome of the Soldiers, and an inſolent Behaviour was laid to his Charge. *Xenophon* riſing from his Seat, commanded

ded his firſt Accuſer to mention the Place where he had been beaten, He anſwered at that Place and Time when we were periſhing with the ſevere Cold, and when the Snow was moſt intolerable. To this replyed, If in ſuch extremity of Weather, when our Proviſions were conſumed, and we had not Wine even to hold at our Noſtrils, when we fainted with numberleſs Fatigues, and our Enemies preſſed on our Heels, if at ſuch a Time I uſed thee inſolently, I muſt confeſs myſelf to be more untoward than the Aſs, which Untowardneſs renders inſenſible of Fatigues. But declare the Cauſe for which I gave them thoſe Blows. Did I demand any thing from thee, and beat thee on thy Refuſal to give it to me? Or did I command thee to reſtore what was not thine own? Or was a lovely Boy the Occaſion of our Quarrel? Or did I through Heat of Liquor inſult thee? The Fellow ſaying that he had been beaten on none of theſe Accounts, *Xenophon* asked him, whether he belonged to the heavy-armed Troops, he ſaid he did not. Then he demanded if he was in the Number of the Targeteers, he anſwered that he was not; but that being a Freeman, he had been ordered by his Comerades to drive a Mule. Then *Xenophon* recollected the Man, and ſaid, Art thou the Fellow that carried the ſick Soldier? He ſaid I am, for you compelled me to carry him, and throw away the Baggage of my Comrades. Then *Xenophon* ſaid, in this Manner, did I indeed throw away his Baggage, I gave it in Charge to others to bring it unto me; and having received the whole Baggage ſafe, I reſtored it to thee, on thy producing the ſick Soldier. But added he, this Affair is worthy of your Attention; and I ſhall therefore lay it before you. One of our Men unable to proceed one ſtep further,

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was left behind the Reſt. This Man I knew to be-long to our Army, and therefore I conſtrained this Man to take him on his Beaſt, that the Man might not be loſt; for, if I am not Miſtaken, the Enemy was cloſe on our Heels. This the Man confeſſed. Then ſaid *Xenophon*, I ſent thee off before me, and when I afterward with the Rear-Guard overtook thee, I found thee digging a Pit to put the Man into it. And going up to thee, I commended thee for thy Care; but while we ſtood there the Man moved his Leg, and all preſent cried out, that the Man was alive. But thou, in Terms ſullen enough, replyedſt, I will not carry him one ſtep further. That I ſtruck thee then, I confeſs; for thou didſt ſeem to be ſenſible that the Man was alive. What then replyed he, did the Man live the longer for your Care of him? *Xenophon* anſwered, Are we then to be buried alive, becauſe we muſt all die ſome Time or other? On this the whole Aſſembly cried out, that his Puniſhment had been too mild; and they commanded his other Accuſers to declare the Reaſons for which they had been beaten. But no one riſing to accuſe him, he addreſſed the Aſſembly in this Manner. I freely confeſs, O Men, that I have ſtruck many for quitting their Ranks, and they ſhould be ſatisfied that they owe their Lives to us, who kept our Ranks, and fought their Enemies. But they ſtraggling from the Army, ran before to plunder the Country, and engroſs to themſelves a greater Booty. And had we all behaved in this Manner, every Soul of us had undoubtedly periſhed. On another perhaps, that through an effeminate Sluggiſhneſs hath lain expoſed to the Mercy of the Enemy, and refuſed to ſtir, I have not only inflicted Blows, but alſo compelled him to march on. For

in

n that extreme cold Weather, having been con-
rained to wait for ſome that were packing up
heir Baggage, I experienced, that if I ſat on the
Ground any conſiderable Time, I could ſcarce riſe
r ſtretch out my Legs. In this Caſe, therefore
was guided by Experience, and if I found any
ne ſitting on the Ground, and ſtiff with Cold, I
conſtrained him to riſe, for Motion and manly Ex-
ercises put Warmth and Vigour into his Body,
but by Sitting and Inactivity, I perceived, that
their Blood ſtagnated, and their Toes rotted off,
as you are ſenſible was the Caſe of many among
you. Another that lagged behind, through Lazi-
neſs, and retarded the March both of the Van and
Rear, I ſtruck with my Fiſt, that he might be
not ſtruck with the Spear of an Enemy. And
ſince their Lives are preſerved, they are at Liberty
to demand Juſtice againſt me, if I have done them
any Wrong. But had they fallen into the Hands
of their Enemies, and had their Sufferings been
ever ſo great, to whom could they have appealed
for Juſtice? I talk to you continued he, in a plain
Manner, but if I have chaſtiſed any one for his
own Good, I demand that my Puniſhment may
be ſuch as Children would inflict on their Parents,
or Scholars on their Maſters. For even Phyſicians
make Inciſions, and uſe Cauſtics for the Good of
their Patients. But if my Behaviour ſeems to be
the Effect of Wantonneſs, conſider, that by the
Help of the Gods, my Preſumption and Confi-
dence are greater now than at that Time, and that
I now take larger Quantities of Wine, but never-
theleſs, I give no Blows to any one; for I perceive
you in a Calm. But in a Storm, when the Sea
runs high, do you not ſee, that the Mate at the
Prow of the Ship, even for a ſingle Nod,

is incenſed againſt thoſe under his Command, and the Maſter againſt thoſe at the Stem. For at ſuch a Criſis, the leaſt Miſtake may be of fatal Conſequence. But that I did no Wrong to theſe Men, the Sentence you gave againſt them at that Time is a plain Teſtimony. For you were preſent not with voting Balls, but with your Arms in your Hands, and it was in your Power to have aſſiſted them, if you had pleaſed. But by *Jove* you neither gave Aſſiſtance to them, nor concurred with me in puniſhing their Diſorders, but conniving at their Inſolence, ſeemed to give a Licence to their Crimes. And I am of Opinion, that if a ſtrict enquiry be made, the ſame Perſons will be found to have been moſt irregular at that Time, and moſt inſolent at the preſent. *Boiſcus* the *Theſſalian* Wreſtler under a Pretence of Wearineſs refuſed to carry his Shield; and now, as I am informed, he has already plundered many of the *Cotyorites*. I think it therefore prudent to deal with him in a Manner contrary to what we deal with Dogs. For churliſh Dogs are chained up by Day and let looſe by Night. If then you will act according to the Rules of Prudence, you ſhould keep him cloſe by Night, and give him his Liberty by Day. But, continued he, I am ſurprized that not the leaſt Occaſion of Offence toward any of you is ſuppreſſed, but all my Faults called to Remembrance; But if I ſheltered any one from the Weather, or defended him from the Enemy, or relieved him in Sickneſs or Diſtreſs, no Man takes Notice of theſe Things, nor doth any one acknowledge the Commendations or Rewards, that I have to the utmoſt of my Power beſtowed on him for his Courage. But it is truly more honourable, juſt, pious, and ſatisfac-

tory

tory to be mindful of good Offices than Injuries. On this they all aroſe from their Seats, and publiſhed his Favours. And thus this Affair redounded to his Honour.



THE ASCENT OF *CYRUS* the Younger, &c.

BOOK VI.

(a) DURING the Stay of the Army in this Place, the Soldiers ſubſiſted partly on Proviſions they bought, partly on Prey that they took by Inroads into *Paphlagonia*. The *Paphlagonians* were alſo ſucceſsful in their Stratagems againſt the Straglers, and gave frequent Alarms

(a) The Recapitulation of the former Books (which *Xenophon* in the Beginning of all the Reſt hath obſerved) is in this omitted. I am apt to aſcribe it rather to the Negligence of the Firſt Tranſcribers than the Deſign of the Author.

arms to the Army, by Aſſaults in the Night-time on the extreme Quarters; and theſe Things ſharpned their Animoſities againſt each other. *Corylas* King of the *Paphlagonians* at this Time, ſends to the *Græcians*, Embaſſadors with Preſents of Horſes, magnificent Robes and this Meſſage, That *Corylas* was willing that Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe between the *Græcians* and himſelf. The Generals returned, That they would refer his Meſſage to a full Aſſembly of the Army; and in the mean time, they received them as their Gueſts, and invited as many others as they judged convenient, to bear them Company. And, offering ſome Bullocks, that were Part of their Prey, and other Beaſts in Sacrifice; they fitted out a tolerable Entertainment, at which they lay on Beds of Graſs, and drank out of Cups of Horn after the Cuſtom of the Country. After they had poured out a *Libation* and ſung an *Hymn* to the Gods, ſome *Thracians* roſe up, and dreſſed in their Armour, danced to the Flute, and with great Agility took high Leaps from the Ground. They alſo engaged with Swords, and at laſt one gave the other a Blow, which in the Judgment of all was Mortal, (but the Stroke was given artfully) and the *Paphlagonians* gave a great Shout. The Conqueror ſtripping his Adverſary of his Arms, marched off, ſinging the (*b*) *Sitalca*; and ſome other *Thracians* carried off the Body of the conquered, as if he had been in Reality dead; but he had not received the leaſt Hurt. After this the *Ænianes* and *Magnetians* aroſe, and in their Armour danced the *Carpeia*. The Dance is performed after this Manner. One laying his Arms

(*b*) This Song ſeems to owe its Original to *Sitalces*, one of the Kings of *Thrace*. *Thucydides*, in his ſecond Book mentions a King of *Thrace* of this Name.

rms on the Ground, plows and ſows the Land, ooking frequently behind him, as if he was in a reat Terror; at laſt a Thief comes forward, and s ſoon as the Countryman eſpies him, he in an Hurry ſnatches up his Armour, and attacks the Thief before the Plow. (All this is done in Concert to the Flute.) At laſt the Thief binds the Ploughman, and drives off the Plow. At other Times the Plowman gets the Better of the Thief, nd tying his Hands behind his Back, putting him nto the Yoke with the Oxen, and drives him off. After this a *Myſian* entered with a Target in each Hand, and firſt he danced, imitating the Poſtures of one Combatant, defending himſelf againſt two, after that, the Poſture of one Man attacking nother. Then he turned himſelf round, and tumbled Head over Heels, keeping the Targets in his Hands; ſo that it was really a diverting Sight. After this he danced the *Perſian* Dance, rattling the Targets one againſt the other, ſometimes bending his Knees, and inſtantly recovering himſelf; and all this in Concert to the Flute. After him ſome *Mantineans* came forward, and ſome other *Arcadians*, riſing from their Seats, armed after a very graceful Manner, moved themſelves, keeping Time to a warlike Tune, which they played on Flutes, and ſung the *Pæan*, and danced in the Manner uſual in the Proceſſions to the Gods. The *Paphlagonians* ſeeing that all their Dances were performed in Armour, were filled with Surprize. A *Myſian* perceiving their Aſtoniſhment, and knowing an *Arcadian* that had a Woman that profeſſed dancing, requeſted her from him, and having dreſſed her in a very elegant Manner, with a light Shield in her Hand, introduced her before the Company; and ſhe with ſurprizing

prizing Agility danced the (c) *Pyrrhic* Dance. Then the Place reſounded with Applauſes, and the *Paphlagonians* demanded if the Women aſſiſted them in Battle. They replyed, that even their Women had repulſed the King from their Camp. After this Manner they ſpent the Night, and the next Day the Embaſſadors had an Audience of the whole Army, and the Soldiers paſſed a Decree that Hoſtilities between them and the *Paphlagonians* ſhould thenceforth ceaſe; and after this the Embaſſadors took their Leave.

The *Græcians*, having Veſſels ſufficient to tranſport them, embarked, and with a fair Wind kept out at Sea that Day and the ſucceeding Night, having *Paphlagonia* on their Left-Hand. The next Day they arrived at *Sinope*, and entered *Hermene* the Port of that City. The *Sinopeans* inhabited a Part of *Paphlagonia*, and are a Colony from *Miletus*. They preſented the *Græcians* with 3000 (d) *Medimni* of Meal, and 1500 Jacrs of Wine as gifts of Hoſpitality. Here *Chiriſophus* met them with 3 Gallies. The Soldiers were in Expectation that he had brought them ſome Pay. He had no Money, but Commendations only from *Anaxibius* the Admiral in thoſe Seas, and all the other Officers, and Promiſes that they ſhould enter into Pay, as ſoon as they ſhould quit the *Pontus*.

The

(c) This Dance was perhaps the moſt Ancient of any in Uſe among the *Græcians*. The Origin of it is by ſome aſcribed to *Minerva*, by others to the *Curetes*, and by *Pliny* to *Pyrrhus*, from whom it ſeems to borrow its Name. The Nature of this Dance, conſiſted chiefly in a Variety of Motions of the Body, which the Dancer with ſurprizing Agility turned round, and frequently ſhifted from Place to Place, as if he was ſhunning the Stroke of an Enemy.

(d) The common *Medimnus* contained four Pecks, one Gallon and a Pint *Engliſh* Meaſure.

he Army continued five Days at *Harmene*, and the Soldiers approached *Greece*, their Deſires of quiring ſome Riches became more ardent. They ſo imagined, that the Army might be employed better Purpoſe, either by Night or by Day, by ecting (*e*) one Man to have the ſole Command an under ſo many Generals; in as much as any Deſign could be executed with more ſecrecy on ccaſion, and would be leſs Obnoxious to a Miſarriage through Want of Celerity, where Expeition ſhould be requiſite: For there would be no Neceſſity for Conſultations, but every Affair be etermined by the Judgment of one Man; for hiherto the Generals had acted by a Plurality of Voices. From theſe Conſiderations they caſt their Eyes on *Xenophon*, and the Captains waiting on hem, made known to him the Reſolution of the Army, and ſaid, That it was the Requeſt of the whole Army, as a Teſtimony of their Affection for him, that he would accept of the Command. *Xenophon* was ſo far diſpoſed to aceept of this Offer, as he thought it would gain him greater Eſteem with his Friends, and raiſe his Reputation at *Athens*, and as he might poſſibly prove the Inſtrument of ſome Good to the Army. Theſe Reflections

(*e*) We have in Hiſtory frequent Inſtances of Miſcarriages in War, from a multiplicity of Generals, equal in Power and Authority. It is contrary to the Judgment of *Homer*, who laid it down as a Maxim, that a Plurality of Generals was not good, and that there ſhould be one ſupreme Commander. *Demoſthenes*, the moſt able Stateſman ever *Athens* produced was ſenſible of this, when in his firſt *Olynthic*, he tells the *Athenians*, that it muſt be confeſſed, that *Philip* had no ſmall Advantage over them, as he could impart, or conceal his Deſigns as he thought fit, and that as the Treaſurer, the Sovereign and the General were in him united, he was enabled to form, and put in Execution thoſe ſpeedy and juſt Meaſures, which ſecure Succeſs in martial Enterprizes.

ſlections raiſed in him a Deſire of being ſole Commander of the Army; but when he conſidered (*f*) that future Events are uncertain even to the Wiſeſt, and that he ran a Riſque even of loſing that Glory which he had already acquired, he remained in ſuſpenſe, and being at a Loſs what Choice to make, he thought it beſt to refer it to the Wills of the Gods. And having ſent for two Prieſts, he ſacrificed to *Jupiter* the Sovereign, whom to conſult, he had been commanded by the Oracle at *Delphos*; and he was of Opinion that from this God the Dream appeared at that Time, when he was firſt appointed one of the Generals to command the Army. Moreover he called to Mind, that when he ſet out from *Epheſus*, to accompany *Cyrus* in his Wars, an *Eagle* ſitting on the Ground made a yelping Noiſe on his Right-hand; and the Augur, who conducted him, aſſured him, that the Omen was extraordinary, and that it never was granted to any Perſon in a private Station, that it alſo portended great Honour, but not to be acquired without many Fatigues. For that other Birds fall on the *Eagle* ſitting on the Ground. It likewiſe portended that it would not be lucrative to him, in as much as the *Eagle* ſeizes its Prey on the Wing.

Having offered Sacrifices on this Account, the God gave plain Indications that he ſhould neither court the Office of General, nor accept it if offered to him. And the Iſſue of the Affair was this

(*f*) This is a neceſſary and uſeful Leſſon to enterprizing Officers, while our Fame is in the Bloſſom, an Action of Boldneſs, or even Temerity may bear ſome Excuſe. But when our Glory is full grown and ripe, we ſhould manage it with Caution, and preſerve it with Prudence. And it would be the greateſt Folly, to hazard the Fall of the whole Pyramid, for the Sake of adding one ſmall Stone, and that perperhaps of no great Ornament to the whole Edifice.

this. The Army convened, and all unanimouſly agreed to elect a ſingle General. Having ratified this Reſolution, *Xenophon* was propoſed; and there being no Room to doubt, that the Election would fall on him, if it was put to the Vote of the Army, he ſtood up and ſpoke in this Manner, I cannot, O Men, but receive Pleaſure from the Honours you beſtow on me, and I have a grateful Senſe of them, and intreat the Gods to render me the Author of ſome Good to you, but to prefer me to the Office of General, when a *Lacedæmonian* is on the Spot, will not, in my Opinion, conduce either to your Advantage or mine, but rather prove an Obſtacle to all your Expectations from them. Neither do I think it conſiſtent with my own Safety; for I am ſenſible that my City never enjoyed Peace, till the Republick yielded up (*g*) the Sovereign Command to the *Lacedæmonians*. And after this Submiſſion was made, an End was put to the War; and the Siege of the City raiſed. If then I ſhould, being ſenſible of theſe Things, endeavour by all Means poſſible, to reverſe their Decree, I plainly perceive, that they would very ſoon bring me to a Senſe of my Fault. But as you believe that there will be leſs Room for Factions under the Command of one than many Generals, ſo be aſſured, you ſhall never find me forming Cabals againſt any one whom you ſhall prefer to that Office; for in my Opinion that Man, who, in a Time of War, foments a Faction againſt his General, foments a Faction againſt his own Life. But ſhould the Election fall on me, I ſhould not be

(*g*) Neither *Xenophon* in his *Grecian* Hiſtory, nor *Plutarch* in his Life of *Lyſander* expreſſly mention this, as one of the Articles which were impoſed by the *Lacedæmonians* on the Republick of *Athens*.

ſurprized to find ſome repining both at your Choice and my Authority. As ſoon as he had made an End of Speaking, by far the major Part of the Army ſtood up, declaring, That he ſhould be their General. *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus* alſo ſaid, that it was no leſs ridiculous that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take Offence at their Election of a General, than if at an Entertainment a *Lacedæmonian* was not choſen Maſter of the Feaſt; and if the Caſe ſtands thus, we, as Natives of *Arcadia*, are debarred the Priviledge of being Captains. Then a murmuring Noiſe went through the Aſſembly in Approbation of what he had ſaid, And *Xenophon*, perceiving the Neceſſity of enlarging on this Occaſion, went into the Midſt of the Aſſembly, and ſpoke. To give you, O Men, full Satisfaction in this Matter, I ſwear to you by the Gods, that, as ſoon as I was apprized of your Reſolution, I conſulted the Gods by Sacrifice, whether it were proper that you ſhould confer this Command upon me, and whether I ſhould accept it. And the Gods, by the Omens of the Victims, gave ſuch plain Indications, as might convince even an Idiot, that I ought not to meddle with the ſole Command. So *Chiriſophus* was declared ſole General, and, after his Election, he went into the Midſt of the Aſſembly and ſaid. Be aſſured, O Men, that, had you preferred another to this Office, I never ſhould have fomented any Faction againſt him. And you have, added he, done no ſmall Piece of Service to *Xenophon*, in as much as you have not elected him. For not long ſince *Dexippus* grievouſly traduced him before *Anaxibius*, though I did my utmoſt to induce him to Silence. And he alledged, that *Xenophon*, in the Choice of a Collegue to command the Troops of *Clearchus*, had preferred *Timaſion* a *Dardanian*,

Dardanian, to him who was a *Lacedæmonian*. Then going on with his Speech, he ſaid, But, as you have elected me to be your General, I ſhall make your Good the main End of all my Actions; and therefore, if the Weather favour us, you are to be in a Readineſs to put to Sea to Morrow, and we ſhall direct our Courſe to *Heraclea*, and there muſt be no Endeavours wanting that we may all arrive there, where we ſhall take our other Affairs into Conſideration.

The next Day, they ſet Sail with a fair Wind, and coaſted along Shore for two Days, and in their Paſſage they ſaw the Shore of *Jaſon*, where by Report the *Argo* arrived. They ſaw alſo the Mouths of ſeveral Rivers, firſt of the *Thermodoon*, than of the *Halys*, after that of the *Parthenius*, and having ſailed by this River, they arrived at *Heraclea*, a *Græcian* City, founded by the *Megareans*, in the Country of the *Maryandenians*. They took up their Station in the *Acheruſian Cherroneſus*, where *Hercules* is reported to have made his Deſcent to the Dog *Cerberus*, and the Inhabitants at this Day ſhow the Marks of his Deſcent through a Cave more than two Furlongs deep. Here the Citizens of *Heraclea* ſent to the *Græcians* as Gifts of Hoſpitality 3000 Medimni of Meal, 2000 Jars of Wine, 20 Bullocks, and 100 Sheep. The River *Lycus*, which is two Plethrons broad, runs through the flat Country. The whole Army aſſembling together, took under Conſideration whether they ſhould proceed the remaining Part of the Way out of *Pontus* by Sea or Land. And *Lycon* of *Achæa* ſtanding up ſaid, The Conduct of our Generals, O Men, is ſurprizing to me, in as much as they take no Methods to make Proviſions of Grain for us. For the Preſents that we have

received,

received, can ſcarce ſubſiſt the Army for three Days, nor can we reap any Benefit by Forage from the adjacent Parts. It is therefore my Opinion that we demand 3000 Cyzicenes from the *Heracleots*. Another declared, that 10000, which would amount to the Pay of the Army for one Month, ſhould be demanded from them; and that Deputies ſhould be ſent to the City, while the Aſſembly was yet ſitting, that their Anſwer might be reported, and taken into Conſideration. Then Deputies were propoſed, and *Chiriſophus*, becauſe he was General, was firſt mentioned. Some alſo propoſed *Xenophon*. But they made ſtrong Oppoſition to this Motion, for they thought it unreaſonable to extort from a City that was not only *Græcian*, but alſo in Amity with them, a greater Sum than the Citizens were willing gratuouſly to give. The Soldiers perceiving them diſinclined to this Office, depute *Lycon* of *Achæa*, *Callimachus* of *Parrhaſia*, and *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, who ſignified to them the Decree of the Army, and they reported, that *Lycon* added ſome Menaces if they did not comply with their Demands. The *Heracleots* made Anſwer, that they would take their Demands into Conſideration, and immediately they removed all their Effects from the Fields, kept their Market within the City, ſhut their Gates, and placed a Guard on the Walls. Then the Authors of this Commotion, laid the Diſappointment of their Deſigns on the Generals, and the *Arcadians* and *Achæans* fell into Cabals, chiefly at the Inſtigation of *Callimachus* of *Parrhaſia* and *Lycon* of *Achæa*, who in their Harangues told them, that it was a Shame, that one *Athenian*, and a Man that had contributed nothing to the raiſing

of

of the Army, ſhould domineer over (*h*) *Peloponneſians* and *Lacedæmonians*; and that they ſhould undergo all the Fatigue, and others reap the Fruits of their Labours, eſpecially when the Safety of the whole Army was owing to them. For that the *Arcadians* and *Achæans* were the main Support of the Army, and the reſt of no Significancy. (And indeed the *Arcadians* and *Achæans* were more than half of the Army.) If therefore they were in their right Senſes, they ſhould join together, and electing Leaders from their own Body, proſecute their March ſeparately from the Reſt of the Army, and jointly endeavour to acquire ſome Good to themſelves. This Propoſal paſſed into a Decree, and the *Arcadians* and *Achæans* under *Chiriſophus* and *Xenophon* withdrew from their Officers, and joined the Reſt. Then they elected ten Generals, and made a Decree, that by the Plurality of their Voices, every Enterprize ſhould be determined. Thus *Chiriſophus* was depoſed from the ſole Command on the 6th or 7th Day after his Election. *Xenophon* apprehending that a March in ſeparate Bodies might be attended with greater Dangers, propoſed to proceed in Conjunction with them. But *Neon* having heard from *Chiriſophus*, that he had been aſſured by *Cleander*, Governour of *Byzantium*, that he did deſign to be at *Calpe*, with ſome Gallies, perſuaded him to continue his March with his own Forces only; and he adviſed him to let

(*h*) The State of *Athens* was at this Time very low, having not recovered from the great Blow, which it had received from *Lyſander* at *Ægospotamos*, and the *Peloponneſians* were exceeding haughty at the Thoughts of having humbled a City, that alone, without any Confederacies could diſpute the Empire of *Greece*, againſt the united Power of the *Peloponneſus*.

let no one into the Secret, that they and their Troops might be accommodated in the Gallies. And, the Soldiers having by their late Behaviour chagrined *Chiriſophus*, and rendered themſelves odious to him, every thing was left at the Diſpoſal of *Neon*. *Xenophon* had not yet laid aſide his Reſolution of leaving the Army; but conſulting, by Sacrifices, *Hercules* the Conductor, whether it were more adviſeable for him to enter upon any Action with the Soldiers that remained under his Command, or to quit the Service, the God by the Omens ſignified his Approbation of the Former. Thus the Army was divided into three Bodies. The *Arcadians* and *Achæans* were more than 4500 all heavy-armed. *Chiriſophus* had under his Command 1400 heavy-armed Soldiers, and 700 Targeteers, *Thracians* that had ſerved under *Clearchus*: With *Xenophon* remained 1700 heavy-armed Soldiers, 300 Targeteers, and all the Horſe which might be about forty. The *Arcadians*, having obtained Shipping from the *Heracleots*, put to Sea the firſt in Expectation of the better Succeſs, by making a ſudden Deſcent in *Bythinia*; and they landed at the Haven of *Calpe*, which lies about the Middle of *Thrace*. Soon after *Chiriſophus* ſetting out from *Heraclea*, marched by Land through the inland *Territories* of that City; but as ſoon as he entered *Thrace*, he altered his Courſe along the Sea Coaſt, for even at this Time he was not in Health. *Xenophon* having embarked with his Diviſion of Forces, lands in the Confines of *Thrace* and *Heraclea*, and from thence he proſecuted his March through the inland Parts.

The Depoſing of *Chiriſophus* from the ſole Command, and the Diviſion of the Army have been already related. The Tranſactions of each Diviſi-

on

on were as follow. The *Arcadians* landing by Night at *Calpe*, without Delay ſet out for the neareſt Villages, which lay about 50 Furlongs from the Sea, and as ſoon as it was light, each Commander led his Diviſion to a Village, and where one Village ſeemed more conſiderable than another, againſt it they led two Diviſions, and a certain Hill was pitched on as the common Rendezvous. This Invaſion being unexpected, their Booty of Slaves and Battle was very great. But the *Thracians* being armed only with Targets, great Numbers of them made their Eſcape from the Heavy-armed Troops, and rallying in a Body, firſt attacked *Smicres*, one of the Generals of the *Arcadians*, who with his Diviſion of the Forces, heavy laden with Plunder, was marching off to the Place of Rendezvous. The *Græcians* continue to retreat and fight, till in paſſing a hollow Bottom, they were put to the Rout, and *Smicres* with every Man of his Diviſion cut off. *Hegeſander* alſo another of the Generals, eſcaped from the Enemy with eight Men only of his Party. The other Generals arrived Safe at the Place appointed, ſome with Plunder, and others empty. The *Thracians* animated with this Succeſs, by great Shouts invited others to their Aſſiſtance, and Multitudes with great Reſolution flocked unto them in the Night; and at Break of Day, they inveſted the Hill, whereon the *Græcians* had taken up their Quarters. There was a continual Conflux of freſh Forces unto them, and their Troops, conſiſting of Cavalry and Targeteers, could without Danger charge the *Græcians*, who had neither Archers, Targeteers, or Cavalry. For the *Thracians* running or galloping up to the *Græcians*, diſcharged their Weapons, and readily retreated, when their Charge was returned,

ed. Aſſaults were alſo made at different Places, ſo that on this Side, many were wounded, but on that Side not ſo much as one; ſo that the *Græcians* could not ſtir without (*i*) certain Loſs of their Lives. The *Thracians* alſo cut off their Communication with the Water. Being reduced to great Diſtreſs they treated of a Truce, and all other Articles were concluded on, excepting that the *Thracians* would not give Hoſtages, which the *Græcians* inſiſted on. And here the Treaty ſtuck, and in this Poſture ſtood Affairs with the *Arcadians*. *Chiriſophus* taking his Rout along the Sea Coaſt, from whence he had nothing to fear, arrives ſafe at *Calpe*. But *Xenophon* marched through the inland Parts, and as his Horſe were ſcouting before the main Body, they fell in with Embaſſadors going on ſome Embaſſy or other. They were brought to *Xenophon*, and he enquired of them, if they could give Intelligence of any other *Græcian* Forces in theſe Parts. Hereupon they related to him the late Diſaſter of the *Arcadians*, and how they are at preſent inveſted on an Hill, and ſurrounded by the whole Power of *Thrace*. Hearing this he placed a ſtrong Guard over the Men, that they might in Caſe of Neceſſity ſerve as Guides; and then, ſending out ten Scouts, he aſſembled the Army, and addreſſed them. Men and Soldiers, ſome of the *Arcadians* have

(*i*) I have ventured to take this Paſſage in a ſenſe different from any of the former Tranſlations I have ſeen, making a Period at τελευτῶντες which by *Xenophon* is generally, if not conſtantly uſed to ſignify to approach near their End, or to die, and I have here tranſlated it without certain Loſs of their Lives. The Latin Tranſlator renders it *ad extremum*, to give the finiſhing Stroke, and joins it to the next Sentence. But as this Senſe is not agreeable to the Simplicity of Stile uſed by *Xenophon*, ſo alſo in this Senſe are the Particles tranſpoſed from their natural Order.

have loſt their Lives by their Enemies, and the Reſt are inveſted on a Hill; and it is my Opinion that their Ruin will inevitably bring Deſtruction on our ſelves, our Enemies being ſo numerous, and thus fluſhed with Courage. It is therefore our beſt Way to haſten to their Relief with all ſpeed imaginable; that we may in Conjunction with them, if they are yet living, engage againſt our Enemies, leaſt being left by ourſelves, we alſo by ourſelves run the Peril of the War. We ſhall therefore proceed on our March, till we think it Time to pitch our Camp, and take our Supper, and let *Timaſion* with the Cavalry keep before us in our March, never quitting ſight of us, and diligently exploring the Country, that nothing may eſcape our Notice. (He alſo detached ſome light-armed Infantry to the Hills, on each Side of him, with Orders, to make Signals upon their Diſcovery of the Enemy, and to ſet every Thing combuſtible on Fire.) Moreover continued he, there is no Place whither we can fly for Refuge; for it is a long Way to return to *Heraclea*, nor is it leſs to go forward to *Chryſopolis*. Our Enemies are alſo cloſe on us. The Haven *Calpe* is indeed neareſt to us, and there we may expect to find *Chiriſophus*, if he hath eſcaped the Enemy. But on the other Hand there is no Poſſibility of procuring ſhipping, ſo as we may quit the Place by Sea. Nor can we poſſibly get Proviſions to ſubſiſt us during the Stay of one Day. And if our Friends that are inveſted on the Hill, periſh by the Enemy, it will be more difficult for us to ward againſt the impending Dangers aided by the Forces of *Chiriſophus* alone, than if by reſcuing them the whole Forces join together, and act in Concert for the common Safety. And it is incumbent on you to ſet out fully

ly reſolved either to die with Honour, or perform the moſt glorious Action imaginable in ſaving the Lives of ſo many *Græcians*. And perhaps God diſpoſes Things in this Manner, to humble the Haughty-minded, as having too great a Conceit of themſelves, and to confer a greater Portion of Honours on us, who never enter on any Action without the divine Approbation. It is likewiſe incumbent on you in following me, to be attentive to my Orders, and diligent in putting them in Execution. Having ſaid this he led them on, and the Cavalry, diſperſed at convenient Diſtances from each other, and the Targeteers marching croſs the Hills, ſet every Thing that they ſaw combuſtible on Fire; and whatever eſcaped the Horſe and Targeteers, the main Body ſet on Fire; ſo that the whole Country ſeemed one uninterrupted Blaze; and the Army to be very numerous. Toward the Evening they pitched their Camp on a riſing Ground, whence they diſcerned the Fires of the Enemy (for they were about 40 Furlongs diſtant) and kindled as many Fires as they poſſibly could. After they had taken their Supper, Orders were given to extinguiſh all the Fires, and having placed a ſtrong Guard, they went to their Reſt. At Break of Day, they addreſſed (*k*) the Gods by Prayer,

(*k*) This is the only Enterprize which *Xenophon* undertakes without a previous Conſultation of the Gods by Sacrifice. For when our Friends are in Diſtreſs, nothing ought to ſtand in Competition with the Preſervation of their Lives. Curioſity may indeed excite a Deſire of knowing the Event, but we are to attempt their Relief, even with the certain Hazard of our own Lives. *Epictetus* hath a very fine Paſſage to this Purpoſe. Doth the Diviner diſſwade you, and are the Omens inauſpicious? By theſe Death, Loſs of Limbs or Exile is manifeſtly portended. But even thus, you muſt become a ſharer of Dangers with your Friends and your Country. Let

Prayer, and marched forward with all poſſible ſpeed prepared for Battle. But *Timaſion* with the Horſe and Guides ſcouting before the Army reached the Top of the Hill, where the *Græcians* had been inveſted, not knowing that it was the Place; but they ſaw neither Friend nor Foe (and this Advice they ſent to *Xenophon* and the Army) excepting a few old aged Women and Men with ſome Sheep and Oxen that had been left behind. The Occaſion of this at firſt filled them with Amazement, but thoſe that were left behind, being examined, ſaid, That the *Thracians* had decamped early in the Night, and that the *Græcians* had marched off at Break of Day, but what Courſe they had taken they knew not. The Army hearing this took their Dinner, and, as ſoon as they had put up their Baggage, marched away, being eager to join their Companions at *Calpe*. They had not proceeded far till they diſcerned the *Arcadians* and *Achæans* in the Road to *Calpe*, and having at laſt overtaken them, they were overjoyed at the ſight of each other, and embraced like Brethren. The *Arcadians* enquired from *Xenophon*'s Soldiers, for what Reaſons they had extinguiſhed their Fires; for ſaid they, when we could not any longer perceive the Fires burning, we imagined that you were advancing to attack our Enemies by Night, and they ſtole off, as we thought, in Apprehenſion that your Deſign was ſuch. For about that Time they decamped. But when you came not, and the Time, in which we expected you, was elapſed, we believed, that you had received Tidings of our Circumſtances, and for Fear of the Enemy

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Apollo, a more skillful Diviner, be in this your Guide, who thruſt out of his Temple the Man that had refuſed Aid to his Friend in Danger of his Life.

Enemy had betaken yourſelves to Flight toward the Sea, and we were reſolved not to be left behind you. And this was the Motive of our March this Way.

This Day they encamped on the Shore near the Haven. This Place, which paſſeth under the the Name of the Haven of *Calpe*, is ſituated in the *Aſiatic Thrace*. And this *Thrace*, Beginning at the Mouth of the *Pontus*, extends itſelf on the Right-Hand, as you enter into that Sea, as far as *Heraclea*. The Diſtance from *Byzantium* to *Heraclea*, is as much as a Galley can make with Oars in a long Day. The whole Space between theſe two Cities is inhabited by *Thracians* or *Bythinians*, nor is there between the two Cities formerly mentioned any City, either in the Poſſeſſion of the *Gracians*, or in Amity with them. And the *Gracians* that fall into the Hands of the Natives by Shipwreck, or any other Accident, are treated in a moſt barbarous Manner. The Haven of *Calpe* lies in the Midway between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*. The Land runs out into the Sea, and the Part, which lies in the Water, is a craggy Rock, at the loweſt Place no leſs than 20 Fathoms in height, and the Neck of Land that Joins it to the Continent is full four Plethrons broad; and within the *Peninſula* is Room for 10000 Inhabitants. The Haven lies under the Rock, with an open Shore toward the Weſt. Within the Precincts of this Spot of Ground, is a copious Spring of freſh Water that runs into the Sea, and cloſe on the Shore is plenty of Trees, of various Kinds, many of which are proper for Shipping. The Hill that forms the Haven runs through the Middle of the *Peninſula* for about 20 Furlongs, is a good Soil, and free from Stones, but the Country along the Shore for more than 20 Furlongs,

Furlongs, is covered with large Trees of all Kinds. The Reſt of the *Peninſula* is a delightful Country, and of large Extent, and within it are ſeveral well inhabited Villages. The Soil produces Barley, Wheat, all Kinds of Pulſe, Panic, Seſamum, Figs in Abundance, and Plenty of Grapes that yield excellent Wine, and in ſhort all Fruits, excepting Olives. And this is the Soil of that Country.

They took up their Quarters on the Shore near the Sea, for they would by no means enter into any Town, having entertained a Notion, that the Artifice of ſome Perſons, who had formed a Deſign to build a City in that Place, had been the Motive of their March thither. For the greateſt Part of the Soldiers had not quitted *Greece* for Want, and carried Arms for the Sake of their Pay, but had been induced thereunto by Reports of the Virtue of *Cyrus*. And ſome had carried to him Men who had waſted their Fortunes, others ran away from their Parents, and others again, hearing of the Riches of thoſe that had attached themſelves to *Cyrus*, left their Families with Hopes of acquiring a Fortune, and returning again to their Native Country. As the Army therefore conſiſted of ſuch Men, they had their Return into *Greece* very much at Heart. The whole Forces had been now joined one Day, and it was neceſſary to make an Excurſion for Proviſions. *Xenophon* therefore offered Sacrifices whether he ſhould lead out the Army; for he had an Intention alſo to bury the Slain, and the Omens promiſing Succeſs, the *Arcadians* followed him, and they buried the greater Part of the Slain in the Places where they had fallen, for having been dead five Days, they could not be removed off the Spot. But ſome they carried out of the Road, laid in Heaps, and buried in as decent

cent a Manner as their Circumſtances would allow. And they erected a ſpacious honororary Tomb to thoſe whoſe Bodies they found not, and having raiſed a large funeral Pile, they ſet Crowns on it. After this they returned to their Camp, and having taken their Supper, went to Sleep. The next Day, at the Inſtigation chiefly of *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, *Hieronymus* of *Elis*, Captains, and the other Principal Men among the *Arcadians*, all the Soldiers convened, and made a Decree, that it ſhould be capital for any Man to mention a Diviſion of the Forces, and that the ſame Methods as formerly ſhould be obſerved in their March, and that their former Generals ſhould be reſtored to their Commands. *Neon* of *Aſine* was ſubſtituted in the Room of *Chiriſophus*, who had died of a Medicine he had taken in a Fever. After this *Xenophon* ſtood up and ſpoke thus. Men and Soldiers, That we muſt henceforward proſecute our March by Land is obvious; for we are deſtitute of Shipping; and that we inſtantly ſet out is alſo neceſſary, for we have no Proviſions to ſubſiſt on in this Place. We ſhall therefore offer Sacrifice. And if a conſtant Readineſs for Action was requiſite at any Time, it is greatly ſo at the Preſent, for our Enemies are emboldened by their late Succeſs. After this the Generals offered Sacrifices, and *Arexion* of *Arcadia* aſſiſted as Diviner; for *Silanus* of *Ambracia* had hired a Veſſel at *Heraclea* and deſerted the Army. The Omens of the Sacrifices for their Departure proving not favourable, they laid aſide their Deſigns for that Day, and ſome confidently gave out, that *Xenophon*, with a View to ſettle there, had prevailed with the Diviner to declare, that no Omens for their Departure offered. Then *Xenophon* ordered Proclamation to be made, That he

he intended to Sacrifice the next Day, and that every one, that desired to be present, should have free Access, and that if there was any Diviner in the Army, that he should attend, and inspect the Omens with him. The next Day he sacrificed the Victims in the Presence of great Numbers of the Soldiers, and though they offered Victims thrice successively, no Omens for their Departure appeared. This very much disheartned the Soldiers, for their Provisions were spent, and there was no Market from whence they could supply themselves. Then *Xenophon* assembling the Soldiers, addressed them in this Manner. You are Witnesses, O Men, that the Sacrifices for our Departure are not favourable; and I perceive that you are in Want of Provisions. It is my Advice then that we ought to sacrifice on that Head. Then one of the Soldiers standing up said, That no Omens offer is not to be wondered at; for a Ship, having accidentally put in here yesterday, I was informed by one of the Mariners, that *Cleander* Governour of *Byzantium* will be shortly here with Transports and Galleys. This determined them to continue there, and as they lay under a Necessity of making an Excursion for Provisions, they sacrificed thrice on that Account; but no Omens appeared, and the Soldiers going to the Tent of *Xenophon*, complained to him that they had no Provisions, But he refused to lead them out because no Omens appeared. The next Day he sacrificed again, and as it was a general Concern, the whole Army thronged about the Victims, whereof no more now remained. But the Generals did not yet lead out the Army, but having called them to an Assembly, *Xenophon* spoke to them in this Manner. Our Enemies perhaps have drawn all their Forces together,

ther, and will conſtrain us to fight with them; if we therefore leave our Baggage in a Place of Security, and go out prepared to meet our Enemies, we ſhall perhaps Sacrifice with better Succeſs. On this the Soldiers with loud Clamours ſaid, That it was needleſs to remove their Baggage into a Place of Security, and that it behoved them to Sacrifice inſtantly. They had no Sheep, but they bought Oxen out of the Carriages, and ſacrificed them. And *Xenophon* deſired *Cleanor* of *Arcadia* to be ready for a March if any Omens appeared. But none favourable appeared even at this Time. *Neon* was General of the Troops in the Room of *Chiriſophus*, and perceiving the Soldiers in great Diſtreſs, was deſirous to gratify them; and, having met with an *Heracleot*, who aſſured him, that he knew Villages not far off, from whence he might ſupply himſelf with Proviſions, he made a Proclamation, That if any would go out in Queſt of Proviſions, he would put himſelf at their Head. And about 2000 armed with ſhort Spears, and provided with Bottles, Sacks, and other Veſſels made an Excurſion. But the Cavalry of *Pharnabazus*, that had been ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the *Bythinians*, in Conjunction with them, to oppoſe the Entrance of the *Græcians* into *Phrygia*, fell upon them as they were diſperſed through the Villages, and taken up with Pillaging. And by this Defeat from the Cavalry, the *Græcians* loſt no fewer than 500 Men, the Reſt fled for Refuge to a Mountain, and one of the Runaways, making his Eſcape, brought News of this to the Camp. *Xenophon*, having offered no Sacrifices this Day, took one of the Carriage-Oxen (for they had no other Beaſts for Victims,) and having ſacrificed it, marched with all the Soldiers under 50 Years of Age to

their

their Aſſiſtance, and having relieved their Companions, return to their Camp; and about Sun-ſet they took their Supper under the greateſt Dejection of Mind. A Party alſo of *Bythinians* ſallying from a Thicket, fell on the Out-Guards, ſlew ſome of them, and purſued the Reſt even to the Camp. This occaſioning a great Uproar, all the *Græcians* ran to their Arms, but the Country being full of Woods, they judged it by no means ſafe to quit their Camp, and go in Purſuit of the Enemy in the Night Time. They therefore continued under Arms the whole Night, and placed a Guard ſufficient to repel any Attack from the Enemy.

In this Manner they paſſed the Night, and at Break of Day the Generals led the Army to a Place of Security, and before the uſual Time of dining, they had fortified the Avenues to the Place with a Trench, placed Palliſadoes along the Rampart, leaving a Space for three Gates, and the ſame Day arrived from *Heraclea* a Ship with Meal, Beaſts for Victims, and Wine. *Xenophon* riſing early in the Morning, ſacrificed, whether he ſhould make an Excurſion, and the Omens in the firſt Victim were very favourable; and immediately after the Performance of the Sacrifices, *Arexion* of *Parrhaſia* the Diviner, obſerving an Eagle that was a fortunate Omen, adviſes *Xenophon* to lead out the Army. The Generals having paſſed without the Trench, laid down their Arms, and gave Orders that the Soldiers ſhould take their Dinner, and repair under Arms without the Trench, and that the Slaves and unarmed Multitude ſhould remain in the Camp. And all the Generals with their Troops, *Neon* only excepted, whom it was thought proper to leave to guard the Camp, repaired without the Trenches. When the Captains and Soldiers were de-

parted, the Troops under *Neon*, aſhamed to be left behind in that Expedition, committed the Charge of the Camp to thoſe that were above 45 Years old, and followed their Companions. The Army had not marched 15 Furlongs, till they came to the Place where the Slain in the late Defeat lay. And the Rear halting at the Beginning of the Slain, they buried the Dead as far as the Van. Then marching on, they made another Halt at the Place where the Rear reached the unburied, and then interred them again as far as the Van. But when they came to the Road that led from the Villages, where the Slain lay in Heaps, they gathered their Corps together, and buried them in one Place. It was now paſt Noon, and they proceeded forward with the Army, and whatever Proviſions they ſaw without the Villages, they placed within the Phalanx; when on a ſuddain they diſcerned the Enemies, being a ſtrong Body both of Cavalry and Infantry (for *Spithridates* and *Rathines* had joined the Enemy with a Reinforcement from *Pharnabazus*) marching in Order of Battle over the Hills facing them. The Enemy perceiving the *Græcians*, halted about 15 Furlongs from them. On this *Arexion*, Diviner, to the *Græcian* Army, offers a Victim in Sacrifice, and the Omens at the firſt were favourable. Then *Xenophon* addreſſed the Generals thus. It is my Opinion, O Men and Generals, that we ſhould appoint a Body of Reſerve, that may on all Occaſions be at Hand to aſſiſt the Main-body, and be freſh, and in Order to receive the confuſed and diſorderly Attack of the Enemy. This met with the Concurrence of all the Generals. Since then, added he, we are noticed by each other. Let us lead on againſt the Enemy, as if we had not made any Halt,

and

and I ſhall, if you approve it, follow you with a ſeparate Body of the Rear. After this they led on the Army in great Silence. But *Xenophon* taking three Detachments from the Rear, each conſiſting of 200 Men, Ordered one of them to keep on the Right, about a Plethron's Diſtance from the Army. This Party was under the Command of *Samolas* of *Achæa*. The Second was ordered to attend on the Center of Phalanx, under the Command of *Pyrias* of *Arcadia*. The Third was poſted on the Left, under the Command of *Phraſias* of *Athens*. As they advanced againſt the Enemy, the Van halted, being obſtructed in its March by a large Moraſs, which to paſs was at leaſt difficult, nor were they certain but it might be impoſſible. And immediately Orders were ſent to the Generals and Captains to advance to the Van. *Xenophon* ſurprized at the Cauſe of the Halt, and hearing the Orders, galloped forward to the Van. And when the Officers were met together, *Sophœnetus*, the eldeſt of the Generals, ſaid, That to attempt a Paſſage over ſo large a Moraſs, was an Affair that would not admit of any Deliberation. But *Xenophon* eagerly interrupting him, ſaid, You are ſenſible, O Men, that I never voluntarily propoſed any Enterprize that might be attended with Danger. For I plainly perceive that you covet not Glory by your Courage, but the Preſervation of your Lives only. But at preſent, this is the Poſture of our Affairs. To retreat hence without coming to Blows with the Enemy is impoſſible; for if we do not advance to meet our Enemies, they will follow and fall on us in our Retreat. Conſider then whether to advance againſt our Enemies with our Swords in our Hands, or caſting our Shields behind our Backs, to feel them attacking

our

our Rear, be the ſafeſt Courſe. Beſides you are ſenſible that no Man truly brave, will turn his Back on an Enemy, and that a Purſuit inſpires even the moſt cowardly with Boldneſs. For my Part I would rather purſue an Enemy with half of our Number, than make a Retreat with double our Forces. And, I aſſure myſelf, that you are not in the leaſt apprehenſive, that they will ſuſtain our Charge, if we dare venture to attack them. But we are all very ſenſible, that our Retreat will give them Courage to preſs hard on us. And is it not an Advantage eagerly to be embraced, that when we are to engage the Enemy, we have a Moraſs in our Rear that will obſtruct our Flight? For my Part I would always wiſh that an Enemy might have the Appearance of an (*l*) eaſy Retreat. But this Diſadvantage of Ground ſhould put you in Mind of the Impoſſibility of preſerving your Lives, but by conquering the Enemy. And it is the Subject of Amazement to me, that this Moraſs ſhould ſtrike into your Souls greater Terrors than other difficult Places we have already paſſed over. What Impediments will attend our March, through the Plain, unleſs we put their Cavalry to the Rout? And what poſſibility is there of paſſing ſuch Mountains as we have already marched over, if ſuch Numbers of Targeteers gall us continually in the Rear? But taking it for granted, that we make good our Retreat to the Sea, what a Moraſs is the *Pontus* to us? There we have neither ſhipping to proſecute our Journey by Sea, nor Proviſions to ſubſiſt

(*l*) This is agreeable to Prudence and the Rules of War; and we ſhould even build a Bridge for a flying Enemy. For Deſpair rouſes the Courage, and renders Men obſtinate in the Defence of their Lives, which the victorious Enemy refuſes to grant them. *Una Salus Victis nullam ſperare Salutem.*

ſubſiſt on there; and the ſooner we arrive there, the ſooner muſt we quit it for Want of Proviſions. I therefore judge it more adviſeable to engage the Enemy to Day, while we are refreſhed with our Dinner, than to Morrow when we ſhall be enfeebled with Faſting. Our Sacrifices, O Men, are propitious, the Flight of Birds fortunate, and the Entrails of Beaſts moſt favourable. Let us therefore march againſt the Enemy, and ſince that they have ſeen us, let us not leave it in their Power to eat their Supper free from Anxieties, nor ſuffer them to take up their Quarters at their Pleaſure. Then the Captains deſired him to lead on againſt the Enemy, and no further Oppoſition was made. Then he marched on, giving Orders that every one ſhould proceed directly on in a Line from the Place where he ſtood; for he thought that this Diſpoſition would contribute to facilitate the Paſſage of the Army in a Body more than by marching in Files over a Bridge that was laid on the Moraſs. The whole Army having paſſed over, he rode by the Ranks, and harangued them thus. Recal to your Remembrance, O Men, the Victories, which you have gained by the Help of the Gods, and the Lot of ſuch as turn their Backs on their Enemies. And let this alſo bear a Part in your Reflections, that you are now at the Gates of *Greece*. Follow therefore *Hercules the Conductor*, and calling on your Companions by their Names, exhort one another to the Fight. For a noble or generous Saying or Action of any one at preſent, will hereafter afford him the Pleaſure of exciting the Remembrance of himſelf with his Friends. Thus he harangued the Soldiers as he rode by them, and diſpoſing the Targeteers on each Wing, he put himſelf at the Head of the Phalanx, and marched

marched againſt the Enemy. The Soldiers received Order to keep their Spears on their Right Shoulders, and at the Sound of the Trumpet to advance ſlowly with their Spears protended, and not to follow too hotly in Purſuit of the Enemy. Then the Word, *Jupiter the Saviour*, *Hercules the Conductor* went through the Army. The Enemy judging that they had the Advantage of the Ground, ſtood ready to receive their Charge. But as ſoon as the *Græcians* were within Reach of the Enemy, they gave a great Shout, and the Targeteers, without Orders from their Generals, ran on the Enemy, who with their Cavalry and the *Bythinian* Foot advanced to meet them, and put the Targeteers to Flight. In that Inſtant the Trumpets ſounded, the Heavy-armed ſung the Hymn, gave a great Shout, took down their Spears from their Shoulders, and with great Celerity advanced to put a Stop to the Purſuit of the Enemy. Then they ſtood not the Charge of the Heavy-armed, but betook themſelves to Flight; and *Timaſion* with the Horſe purſued the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter, conſidering the Weakneſs of the Party he commanded. Thus the Left-wing of the Enemy, againſt which the *Græcian* Cavalry was diſpoſed, was immediately diſperſed. But the Right-wing, after which the Purſuit was not ſo hot, made a ſtand on an Eminence; which the *Græcians* perceiving, and thinking that they might with great Facility, and without any Danger, attack them, ſung the Hymn, and advanced againſt them; but they quitted the Eminence, and the Targeteers purſued them, till the Right-wing alſo was diſperſed. A few only loſt their Lives, for their Cavalry being numerous deterred the *Græcians* from preſſing on in the Purſuit. The Cavalry

of

of *Pharnabazus* as yet ſtood their Ground, and the *Bythinian* Horſe in great Numbers joined them, and the Eminence, whereon they ſtood, gave them an Opportunity of diſcerning whatever paſſed. The *Græcians* perceiving this, reſolved, though they were fatigued with the Fight, to attack them, that they might leave them no Time or Reſpite to reſume their Courage. So forming themſelves into Order, they marched againſt them. Then the Cavalry betook themſelves to Flight with the ſame Precipitation, as if another Body of Horſe had been at their Heels, and threw themſelves into a Moraſs. The *Græcians*, being unacquainted with it, and it being late, deſiſted from the Purſuit, and returning to the Field of Battle, erected a Trophy, and about Sun-ſet marched back toward the Sea, for they were ſixty Furlongs diſtant from their Camp.

From this Time the Enemies looked to themſelves, and removed their Families and Effects as far as poſſibly they could from the Army. But the *Græcians* waited in Expectation that *Cleander* would arrive with Gallies and Tranſports; and they went out every Day to forage with their Waggons and Slaves, and ſecurely brought into the Camp Wheat, Barley, Wine, Pulſe, Panic, and Figs; for the Country produced all Fruit excepted Olives. And on thoſe Days that the Army remained within the Camp for Refreſhment, every one was at Liberty to go out for Forage, and thoſe that went out returned ſucceſsfully. But when the whole Army made an Excurſion, the Plunder that any ſeparate Party got, was decreed to be put into the publick Stock. And now there was great Affluence of all Neceſſaries in the Camp, and Markets were

kept

kept by the Citizens that reſorted thither from the *Græcian* Cities round them. The Ships alſo, that ſailed by the Coaſt, ſent Goods aſhore, hearing that it was a ſafe Port, and that a City was founding there. The Enemies alſo of the adjacent Parts, being informed, that *Xenophon* was building a City, ſent Meſſengers to him, deſiring to know on what Terms they might be admitted to the Friendſhip of the *Græcians*. But he referred their Meſſage to an Aſſembly of the Army. In the mean Time *Cleander* arrives with two Galleys but no Veſſels to tranſport the Troops. The Army was then foraging, and a Party that had taken a great Booty of Sheep on a Mountain, being apprehenſive that it might be ſeized for the Publick, delivered it into the Cuſtody of *Dexippus* (who had run away from *Trapezus* with a Galley of fifty Oars) on Condition that he ſhould reſtore it to them, reſerving a Part to himſelf. And he beat off ſome of the Soldiers, that being preſent declared, That it belonged to the Publick; and going to *Cleander* he acquainted him that an Attempt had been made to rob him. *Cleander* gives him Orders to bring the Offender before him; ſo he apprehends one of them, and carries him off; but *Agaſias* accidentally coming by, reſcued the Priſoner (for he ſerved in his Company) and the Reſt of the Soldiers called *Dexippus* a Traitor and attempted to ſtone him. At this many of the Sailors were terribly frighted, and fled to their Ships, *Cleander* alſo fled with them. But *Xenophon* and the other Generals put a ſtop to the Fury of the Soldiers, and aſſured *Cleander* that he was not in the leaſt Danger, and that all the Uproar had been occaſioned by a Decree of the Army. But *Cleander* irritated by *Dexippus*, and chagrined by his late Fear,

Fear, made Anſwer, that he would ſail away, and cauſe a publick Proclamation to be made, that no City ſhould entertain them, for that they were publick Enemies. And at that Time the *Lacedæmonians* had the ſupreme Power over all *Greece*. The *Græcians* judging, that ſuch a Proceeding might be of very ill Conſequence to them, entreated him to deſiſt from it; but he replyed, that he would alter his Reſolution on no other Terms, than the Delivering into his Power both the Author of the Attempt, and the Perſon that had reſcued him. The Perſon he demanded was *Agaſias*, a conſtant Friend to *Xenophon*, and on that Account accuſed by *Dexippus*. The Generals reflecting on the ill Poſture of their Affairs, aſſembled the Army. Some of them made light of the Menaces of *Cleander*, but *Xenophon* thought it not a Matter of ſmall Importance, and, ſtanding up in the Aſſembly, he ſaid. Men and Soldiers, The Departure of *Cleander* in his preſent Temper of Mind, ſeems to me an Affair of no trifling Conſequence. For there are *Græcian* Cities at a very ſmall Diſtance from us, and the *Lacedæmonians* have the ſupreme Power in *Greece*; and one ſingle *Lacedæmonian* can diſpoſe theſe Cities according to his own Inclination. If then this Man ſhuts us out from *Byzantium* in the firſt Place, and after that ſends Orders to other Cities, not to receive us within their Walls, but to treat us as Men that have thrown off Allegiance to the *Lacedæmonians*, and refuſed to ſubmit to their Decrees, and ſhould this Report reach alſo the Ears of *Anaxibius*, it will be equally dangerous to continue here or proceed from hence by Sea. For the *Lacedæmonians* have at preſent the ſupreme Power both by Land and Sea. We ought not then to abandon our Hopes of returning to

Greece for the Sake of one or two Men, but to ſubmit to whatever they ſhall enjoin us; for the Cities, whereof we are Natives, pay Obedience to them. I am alſo informed that *Dexippus* aſperſes me to *Cleander*, as if *Agaſias* had acted in this Affair by my Orders. If *Agaſias* will then aver, that I was any wiſe inſtrumental thereunto, I freely diſcharge from all Blame both you and *Agaſias*; and if I was the Promoter of the Throwing of the Stones, or of any other act of Violence, I paſs Sentence againſt myſelf, as deſerving the moſt rigorous Puniſhment, and ſubmit to it; but if he lays the Blame on any other Perſon, I declare that that Man ſhould ſurrender himſelf into the Power of *Cleander* to be judged by him. For by theſe Means you will entirely acquit yourſelves from Blame. But in our preſent Circumſtances we ſhall have Reaſon to complain, if fruſtrated of our Expectations of receiving Praiſe and Honours in *Greece*, we are debarred of equal Privileges with others, and ſhut out from *Grecian* Cities. Then *Agaſias* ſtanding up ſaid, I ſwear to you, O Men, by the Gods and Goddeſſes, that I was prompted neither by *Xenophon*, nor by any other Perſon here to reſcue the Man. But when I ſaw a brave Fellow under my Command, hurried away by *Dexippus*, a notorious Traitor, I was filled with Indignation, and that I reſcued him I freely confeſs. But you ſhall not deliver me up, for I will, as *Xenophon* adviſes, ſurrender myſelf into the Hands of *Cleander*, to receive ſuch Puniſhment as he thinks fit to inflict. Neither ſhall this Affair create ill Terms between you and the *Lacedæmonians*, but you ſhall return in Safety every one to the Place where he deſires. I entreat you to depute ſome of the Army to go with me to *Cleander*, who by their

their Words and Actions may remedy any Omiſſions made by me. Then the Army granted to him the Liberty of chooſing ſuch as he thought proper to accompany him, and he made Choice of the Generals. After this the Generals, with *Agaſias* and the Man that had been reſcued by him, waited on *Cleander*, and the Generals ſpoke in this Manner. The Army hath ſent us to you, O *Cleander*, and beſeeches you, that if they all appear to you to be criminal, that having heard their Defence, you will paſs on them whatever Judgment you think proper. But if one or two, or even more are thought to be guilty, they are ready to deliver them up to receive their Sentence from your Mouth. If any one among us is likewiſe reputed guilty, we ſtand here before you; or if any other Perſon falls under the Charge, make his Name known to us; for no one that is deſirous of paying Obedience to our Commands ſhall be withholden from you. Then *Agaſias* ſtepping forward, ſpoke thus. I am, O Men, the Perſon, that reſcued the Soldiers from the Hands of *Dexippus*, and gave Orders to ſtrike him. For I had by Experience found the Man a brave Soldier, and I knew that *Dexippus* had been appointed by the Army Commander of a Galley, which we had obtained of the *Trapezuntines*, to preſs Tranſports, in order to ſave our Lives. And I know that this *Dexippus* had deſerted, and betrayed thoſe Perſons to whom he was indebted for the Preſervation of his Life, and we robbed the *Trapezuntines* of their Galley, and lie under an ill Repute on that Account. And he hath contributed as far as in him lay, to the Deſtruction of us all, for he heard, as well as we, the Perils of a March by Land, and the Difficulties attending our Paſſage over the Rivers, in order to

our

our Safe Return into *Greece*. On this Account I took away the Priſoner, being a brave Soldier. But be aſſured, that I had not in the leaſt interpoſed, if you or any other Perſon by your Orders, this Fugitive from our Army excepted, had ſeized the Man. And let it be known to you, that if you put me to Death, you put to Death a Man of Bravery for a Poltroon and Villain. *Cleander* anſwered, that he was far from commending *Dexippus* for what he had done, and ſaid, That in his Opinion, though *Dexippus* had been the greateſt of Villains, he ſhould not have been treated in that violent Manner. But he ſhould have been brought to a fair Trial, as you are at preſent, and Juſtice ſhould have been demanded againſt him. But now you may depart, leaving this Man in my Cuſtody, and you may attend his Tryal, when you receive my Orders. For I lay not any thing to the Charge of the Army or any other Perſon, ſince this Man confeſſes that he reſcued the Priſoner. Then the Soldier that had been reſcued, ſpoke thus. Though I ſtand condemned in your Judgment, O *Cleander*, as a Priſoner for injurious Actions, I neither offered to ſtrike or throw Stones at any Perſon, but I alledged that the Sheep belonged to the Publick. For the Army had made a Decree, that whatever Booty any one took in a general Excurſion of the Army, ſhould be put into the publick Stock. This I alledged, and for this he ſeized me, and hurried me away, that it might be kept a Secret, and that he, on Condition of receiving a Part to himſelf, might be the Guardian of a Treaſure acquired by Plunder, contrary to the Decree of the Army. To this *Cleander* replyed. Since you likewiſe are concerned in this Affair, remain with me, that on your Caſe alſo we may give Judgment.

After

After this *Cleander* and his Sailors took their Dinner. But *Xenophon* aſſembling the Soldiers, adviſed them to ſend Deputies to *Cleander*, to intercede for the Men. On this they decreed the Generals, the Captains, *Dracontius* the *Spartan*, and ſuch other Perſons as ſhould be judged proper, to intreat *Cleander* to ſet the Men at Liberty. When they had obtained Admittance to him, *Xenophon* addreſſed him in this Manner. The Men are now, O *Cleander*, in your Power, and the Army reſigns to you, not only the Men, but themſelves alſo to deal with them as you pleaſe. But at preſent they earneſtly intreat and requeſt you to grant them the Lives of theſe two Men, and not to put them to Death. For that formerly they underwent many Fatigues in ſerving the Army. And if they ſhall obtain this Requeſt, and you will vouchſafe to be their Leader, and that the Gods prove not averſe to them, they promiſe by their future Demeanour to demonſtrate, that they are ſoberly inclined, capable of obeying their Leader, and by the Favour of the Gods are void of Fear toward their Enemies. And they further intreat you to be their General, that, when you have experienced the Difference between *Dexippus* and them, and even other Soldiers, you may requite each one as he deſerves. *Cleander* hearing this ſaid. Then by the Gods I will give you my Anſwer this Inſtant, and I will not only grant you the Lives of the Men, but I will alſo attend the Army, and by the Permiſſion of the Gods will conduct you into *Greece*. For your Diſcourſe is contradictory to the Rumours ſpread abroad, that ſome of you withdrew the Army from paying Obedience to the *Lacedæmonians*. Then the Deputies, beſtowing large Encomiums on *Cleander*, departed with the two Men.

And

And *Cleander* conſulted Sacrifices, whether he ſhould lead away the Army. He behaved in a friendly Manner toward *Xenophon*, and contracted a League of Hoſpitality with him. And he was yet more fond of the Command from the Experience that all his Orders were diligently executed. But, having ſacrificed three Days ſucceſſively, and no Omens having appeared, he called a Council of the Generals, and ſaid. The Omens do not anſwer that I ſhould lead you from this Place. But let not this produce any Concern in your Minds; for the Gods have granted, as is meet, that the Army ſhould march hence under your Guidance. Proſecute your March then, and at your Arrival into *Greece*, you ſhall meet with as honourable a Reception as poſſible. On this the Soldiers decreed to preſent him with the Sheep belonging to the Publick, and he, having accepted the Preſent, returned it to them again. Then he departed in his Ships, and the Soldiers having made a Diviſion of the Grain, that had been brought into the Camp, and alſo of the reſt of the Plunder, proſecuted their March through the Country of the *Bythinians*. But meeting with no Booty as they marched through the Roads, they determined to turn back, and march croſs the Country one Day and one Night, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt on in their Paſſage through the Territories of their Friends. Having executed this Reſolution, they took a great Booty of Slaves and Cattle, and on the ſixth Day they arrived at *Chryſopolis*, in the Territories of *Chalcedon*. And here they continued ſeven Days, during which they expoſed their Plunder to Sale.

THE



THE ASCENT OF *CYRUS* the Younger, &c.

BOOK VII.

WE have related at large in the preceding Books, the Tranſactions of the *Græcians*, in their Aſcent with *Cyrus*, until the Battle was fought, with the various Occurrences after the Death of *Cyrus* in their March to the *Pontus*, and the Incidents in their March by Land, and Paſſage by Sea from thence, until they had paſſed without the Mouth of the *Pontus*, and reached *Chryſopolis*, a City in *Aſia*.

After this *Pharnabazus*, being apprehenſive that the Army might carry the War into his Govern-

ment,

ment, ſent to *Anaxibius* the Admiral, who was then at *Byzantium*, ſolliciting him, to tranſport the Army out of *Aſia*, and promiſing in Return to gratify him in any Thing that he ſhould require. *Anaxibius* accordingly ordered the Generals and Captains of the Army to repair to *Byzantium*, and aſſured them, that if they would tranſport the Army over to that Side, the Soldiers ſhould enter into immediate Pay. To this the other Officers replyed, that they would refer it to a Council, and report the Reſult of it to him. But *Xenophon* acquainted him, that he was determined to quit the Army forthwith, and paſs into *Greece* by Sea. But *Anaxibius* deſired him to give his Aſſiſtance in tranſporting the Army, and told him that he might as well quit the Army afterwards. To this *Xenophon* gave his Conſent. In the mean time *Seuthes* of *Thrace* ſends *Medoſades* to *Xenophon*, intreating him to uſe his Endeavours, that the Army might croſs over into *Europe*, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould have no Reaſon to repent of intereſting himſelf therein. He replyed, The Army ſhall without doubt paſs over. But let not this put him under any Engagements to me, or to any other Perſon, for as ſoon as the Army hath reached the other Shore, I ſhall quit the Service. But to thoſe that continue with the Army, and are capable of promoting his Deſigns, let him demean himſelf in ſuch a Manner as he thinks proper. After this the whole Army croſſed over to *Byzantium*, but received no Pay from *Anaxibius*. On the Contrary, he publiſhed a Proclamation, that the whole Army ſhould repair without the Walls with their Arms and Baggage to be muſtered and ſent off. This Order put the Soldiers into Perplexity, becauſe they had not Money to purchaſe Bread for their March, and they

they packed up their Baggage with great Reluctance. *Xenophon* being ready to embark, waited on *Cleander*, Governor of the City (whoſe Gueſt he had been) to take his Leave of him. But he told him, you ſhall not embark, for your Departure at this Time will bring heavy Reflections on you. For, added he, the Dilatorineſs of the Army in leaving the City is already imputed to you. It ſhould not, replyed he, be imputed to me; but the Soldiers are in want of Bread, and are diſpirited that they muſt leave the City in a neceſſitous Condition. Nevertheleſs, ſaid *Cleander*, it is my Advice, that you March with the Soldiers out of the City, as if you intended to proceed on with them. But when they are without the Walls, you may then take your Leave of them. Let us go then, returned he to *Anaxibius*, and put this Deſign in Execution. Accordingly they went and repreſented theſe Things to him. And he ordered him to put them in Execution, and that the Soldiers ſhould make no Delay, but with their Baggage packed up, leave the City inſtantly, and that he ſhould further declare, that if any one was abſent at the Muſter and Review of the Army, that he might blame himſelf for the Conſequence of his Abſence. Then the Generals marched out at the Head of their Troops, and very few remained behind in the City. And *Eteonicus* ſtood ready to ſhut and bar the Gates, as ſoon as they all ſhould be without the City. But *Anaxibius* calling a Council of the Generals and Captains of the Army ſpoke to them thus. You are, ſaid he, to ſupply yourſelves with Proviſions from the Villages of *Thrace*, which abound with Barley, Wheat, and all other Neceſſaries, and from thence you are to proceed into the *Cherſoneſus*, where *Cyniſcus* ſhall give you your Pay.

The Army was ſoon apprized of this, either by ſome of the Soldiers that overheard it, or by ſome of the Captains that were preſent at the Council. The Generals deſired *Anaxibius*, that they might be informed on what Terms he ſtood with *Seuthes*, and whether they were to bend their Courſe over *the ſacred Mountain*, or fetch a Circuit through the Heart of the Country. While they were conferring on theſe Heads, the Soldiers, ſnatching up their Arms, ran to the Gates to get Entrance again into the City. But *Eteonicus* with the Guard that attended him, perceiving them running in Arms, ſhut and bolted the Gates. The Soldiers murmuring that they were thruſt out, and expoſed to whatever Injuries their Enemies could inflict on them, hacked the Gates, and threatned to break them in Pieces, unleſs they were voluntarily opened to them. Some others of the Soldiers running along the Shore, and the (*a*) Copings of the Wall ſcaled, the (*b*) Fortifications, and entered the City, and thoſe that happened to be left behind within the Walls, obſerving how Matters paſſed, ran to the Gates, cut the Bars aſunder with Hatchets, ſpread the Gates wide open, and the whole Army ruſhed in. *Xenophon*, obſerving the Behaviour of the Soldiers, and fearing that they might betake themſelves to Plunder, and that the City,

(*a*) *Petrus Gyllius*, Author of the Antiquities of *Conſtantinople*, from the Latin Tranſlation of *Xenophon* ſuſpected this χυλᾶς to be the Sides or Piles of the Port, but that as there is no mention of the Port, he ſays that it can be underſtood of no other than the Copings of the Burrteſſes of the Wall.

(*b*) *Zonaras* writes, that the Fortifications of old *Byzantium* were exceedingly ſtrong, the Copings of which were built with Stones, three Foot thick cramped together with Links of Iron.

City, and himſelf, and the whole Armymight ſuffer irremediable Evils, ran forward, and entered the Gates with the Crowd. The Inhabitants ſeeing the Army, entered in a forcible Manner, quitted the Forum, and fled different Ways, ſome to the Shipping in the Harbour, others to their Houſes; while thoſe within Doors in the Confuſion left their Houſes. Others hauled the Gallies into the Sea, as the Means to ſave their Lives, and every one gave over all for loſt, as if the City had been taken by an Enemy. *Eteonicus* fled for Refuge into the Caſtle, and *Anaxibius* running to the Shore, put himſelf on Board of a Fiſhing-Boat, and ſailed round to the Citadel, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Chalcedon* for Troops to defend the Place, for the uſual Garriſon ſeemed inſufficient to withſtand an Aſſault from the Army.

As ſoon as the Soldiers perceived *Xenophon*, they gathered round him in Crowds, and ſaid, Now it is in your Power, *Xenophon* to make yourſelf a Man. You are Maſter of a City, of Galleys, of great Treaſures, and of a powerful Army. And, if you will comply with our Deſires, you will promote our Intereſt, and we will raiſe you to great Power. To this he replyed. Your Advice is juſt, and I ſhall endeavour to follow it. But if your Minds are bent on thoſe Things, form yourſelves into Ranks with all ſpeed, and lay down your Arms. For he was deſirous to appeaſe the Tumult, and therefore not only entreated them himſelf, but alſo deſired others to entreat them to lay down their Arms. They accordingly ranged themſelves in Order, and the heavy-armed in a ſhort Time drew up fifty deep, and the Targeteers running by them, formed themſelves on each Wing. The Place is called the *Thracium*, and being level and free from Buildings

Buildings, is very commodious for drawing up an Army. Their Arms being laid down, and the Tumult appeaſed, *Xenophon* calls the Soldiers together, and harangues them in this Manner. (*c*) That you are incenſed, my Fellow Soldiers, at this treacherous Play, and conceive yourſelves to be highly injured, I do not wonder. But if we indulge our Reſentment, and take Vengeance on the *Lacedæmonians* here in Garriſon for this Piece of Treachery, and plunder an innocent City, conſider with yourſelves, what will be the Iſſue of ſuch Proceedings. We ſhall be declared open Enemies by the *Lacedæmonians*. and by all their Allies. And it is eaſy to judge from Things paſt, of which we have been Witneſſes, and can remember, what the Event of the War will be. For when we the *Athenians* entered into a War againſt the *Lacedæmonians* and their Allies, we had no leſs than 400 Galleys at Sea, and in our Docks. Our Treaſury in the City was at that Time very rich, and we had a Revenue of a thouſand Talents from the City and our Tributaries. We were Maſters of all the Iſlands, and of many Cities both in *Aſia* and

(*c*) There is extant an Epiſtle of one *Chio*, a Diſciple of *Socrates*, ſetting out the Confuſion of the City, the Fury of the Soldiers, the mild Behaviour of *Xenophon*, and the Power of Philoſophy on this Occaſion. He there confeſſes his former Error, in judging the Philoſoper and Soldier to be Parts in Life incompatable with each other, and thereupon exhorts his Friends to the Study of the Precepts of Philoſophy, as they would render him more capable to diſcharge the Duty of a General, and ſerve his Country more effectually. He declares he is not ſo much perſwaded of the Truth, of what he aſſerts from the Converſation of *Xenophon*, as from this Inſtance of the Power of Philoſophy, in calming the outragious Minds of an incenſed Soldiery, and rendering a Man beneficial to his Friends, and capable to preſerve Cities from Deſtruction.

and *Europe*, and of this ſame *Byzantium* wherein we now are. And notwithſtanding theſe Advantages we were vanquiſhed by them as you well know. What then ſhall we think will be the Conſequence of a War with the *Lacedæmonians*, who are joined in Confederacy with the *Achæans*, and ſtrengthened with the Acceſſion of the *Athenians*, and all thoſe Nations that were Allies to them at that Conjuncture? And have we not moreover *Tiſſaphernes*, and all the *Barbarians* on the Sea-Coaſt for our Enemies? And is not the King of the higher Nations, whom we ſought to deprive both of his Life and Empire, our moſt implacable Foe? Who then is ſo deſtitute of Reaſon as to believe that we can make Head againſt ſo many Enemies confederated againſt us? Let us not, I intreat you by the Gods, be ſo hurried away by Madneſs, and diſhonourably periſh in a War againſt our Native Countries, our Friends, and our Relations, who are Natives of thoſe Cities that to enter the Liſts with Juſtice againſt us. Shall we, who would not ſettle in any *Barbarian* City, though our own by the Right of Conqueſt, lay waſte this *Græcian* City, the firſt into which we have ſet our Feet? May I be buried ten thouſand Fathoms under Ground, rather than be a Witneſs of ſuch Things? It is my Advice that you, who are Natives of *Greece*, ſubmit to thoſe that are Lords of all *Greece*, and ſue to them for Redreſs of your Injuries. And though we cannot obtain this, that we do not, though injured, deprive ourſelves of the Hopes of living in *Greece*. And it is moteover my Opinion, that we ſend to *Anaxibius* and repreſent to him, that we returned not into the City with an Intent to offer any Violence, but to obtain, if poſſible, ſome Favour, adding, if we receive none at your

Hands

Hands, to let you ſee at leaſt, that we are not thruſt out of the City by Treachery, but leave it in Complyance to the Orders we have received. This was approved by the Army, and they deputed *Hieronymus* of *Elis*, *Eurylochus* of *Arcadia*, and *Phileſius* of *Achæa* to repreſent theſe Things to him. So they departed to repreſent Things to him.

In the mean time *Cyratades* of *Teebes*, who though he was in not in Exile, yet affecting the Office of a General travelled through *Greeee*, offering himſelf to any City or Nation that was in want of a General, entered the Aſſembly, (which was yet ſitting) and addreſſing the Soldiers, told them, That he was ready to lead them into that Part of *Thrace* called *Delta*, where they might find Plenty of good Things; and he aſſured them, that he would ſupply them with Proviſions till they ſhould meet with Neceſſaries in Abundance. At the ſame Time, that this Propoſal was made, the Deputies returned with this Anſwer from *Anaxibius*. That he ſhould never give them Cauſe to repent of their Submiſſion to his Orders. That he ſhould repreſent their Cauſe to the Magiſtrates at *Sparta*, and that he ſhould make it his ſtudy to do them all the Service that lay in his Power. On this the Soldiers conferred the Command of the Army on *Cyratades*, and departed out of the City. The next Day was appointed, when *Cyratades* was to attend the Army with Victims, and a Diviner, and Proviſions, and Drink for the Soldiers. As ſoon as the Army was without the Walls, *Anaxibius* ſhut the Gates, and ordered a Proclamation to be made, That all the Soldiers, found within the City, ſhould be ſold for Slaves. The nex Day the Victims were led to the Altar, and *Cyratades* put a Crown on his Head, in order to perform the Sacrifice.

Sacrifice. But *Timaſion* of *Dardania*, *Neon* of *Aſine*, and *Cleanor* of *Orchomenus* addreſſing him told him, That it was needleſs to ſacrifice the Victims, the Soldiers refuſing to take him for their General, unleſs he procured them Neceſſaries. On this he gives Orders that the Proviſions ſhould be meaſured out, but they falling very ſhort of even one Days Subſiſtance for the Army, he reſigns his Command as General, and goes away carrying the Sacrifices with him. But *Neon* of *Aſine*, *Phryniſcus* of *Achæa*, *Philoſius*, and *Xanthicles* of *Achæa*, and *Timaſion* of *Dardania* remained with Army, and took up their Quarters in the Villages of *Thrace*, lying round *Byzantium*. Here Heats aroſe between the Generals. *Cleanor* and *Phryniſcus*, won over to the Intereſt of *Seuthes*, the one by the Preſent of an Horſe, the other of a Woman-Slave, propoſed to lead the Army into his Service. *Neon* judging that, if the Army ſerved under the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſtood fair to be ſole Commander, propoſed to march into the *Cherroneſus*. And *Timaſion* imagining that by the Intereſt of the Army, he might be reſtored to his Country, was very earneſt to tranſport the Army into *Aſia*, and to this the Soldiers were inclined. Having waſted much Time in theſe Diſputes, many of the Soldiers ſold their Arms in the Country, and took the firſt Opportunity of leaving the Army by Sea. Others gave away their Arms, and ſettled in the Neighbouring Cities, and *Anaxibius* received Advice, that the Army was mouldering away, with great Satisfaction, believing, that the News would be acceptable to *Pharnabazus*.

Anaxibius in his Paſſage from *Byzantium* met at *Cyzicus Ariſtarchus*, going to ſucceed *Cleander* in the Government of *Byzantium*; and by him he

was

was informed, that *Polus* was appointed his Succeſſor as Admiral, and lay ready to enter the *Helleſpont*. *Anaxibius* requeſted *Ariſtarchus* to ſell as Slaves all the Soldiers that had ſerved under *Cyrus*, and ſhould be found within the Walls of *Byzantium*. For *Cleander* had not expoſed one of them to Sale, but compaſſionately treated the Sick, and conſtrained the Citizens to accommodate them in their Houſes. But *Ariſtarchus* immediately after his Landing, ſold no leſs than 400 of them. *Anaxibius* on his Arrival at *Parium*, ſends to *Pharnabazus*, purſuant to the Articles concluded on between them; but he having heard that *Ariſtarchus* was appointed Governour of *Byzantium*, and that *Anaxibius* was deveſted of his Command, ſlighted *Anaxibius*, and renewed with *Ariſtarchus* the Articles relating to the Army of *Cyrus*, which he had formerly entered into with *Anaxibius*. On this Occaſion *Anaxibius* applies himſelf to *Xenophon*, and intreats him to return with all poſſible Speed to the Army, and draw together as many as he could of the diſperſed Soldiers, and lead them to *Perinthus*, in order to repaſs them into *Aſia* with all poſſible Expedition. And to this End he gives him a Galley of thirty Oars, and ſends with him a Letter, and a Meſſenger to the City of *Perinthus*, with Orders to furniſh *Xenophon* with Horſes to carry him to the Army. But *Xenophon* went to the Army by Sea. The Soldiers received him with great Joy, and very readily followed him, being deſirous to paſs over from *Thrace* into *Aia*. *Seuthes* having received Advertiſement of *Xenophon*'s Return to the Army, ſent *Medoſades*, ſolliciting him to lead the Army into his Service. But *Xenophon* anſwered, That it was not

not in his Power to effect what he desired. On this the other took his Leave of him.

As soon as the Soldiers came to *Perinthus*, *Neon* with 800 of the Soldiers, withdrawing from the Army, kept in a separate Camp. The rest of the Army encamped under the Walls of the City. But while *Xenophon* was treating about Vessels, to transport the Army with all Expedition into *Asia*, *Aristarchus*, Governour of *Byzantium*, being gained over to the Interest of *Pharnabazus*, arrived there, and inhibited the Masters of the Vessels to transport the Soldiers; and from thence going to the Army, declared, that they must lay aside all Thoughts of passing into *Asia*. *Xenophon* replied to him, that they had received Orders from *Anaxibius* to pass over, and that he was sent by him to the Army on that Account. But *Aristarchus* replyed, *Anaxibius* is not Admiral, for I have the sole Command in this Place, and, if I find you embarking in any Vessels here, I will throw you overboard. After these Menaces he returned into the City. The next Day he sent to the Generals and Captains to attend him; and as they were even ready to enter the Gates, *Xenophon* receives Advice, that if he goes in, he should be secured, and either be severely treated there, or delivered up to *Pharnabazus*. On this Advice *Xenophon* sends forward to *Aristarchus* the other Officers, telling them that he intended to offer a Sacrifice. And returning to the Camp, he sacrificed some Victims to consult the Gods, whether they would assist his Designs of leading the Army into the Service of *Seuthes*. For he was sensible of the Danger of passing over into *Asia*, in Opposition to one that had the Command of the Sea. And he was loath that the Army should be shut up in the *Cherronesus*, and reduced

ced to great Extremities; where they muſt be ſubſervient to the Governour of theſe Parts, and at the ſame Time be in Danger of wanting Neceſſaries. He was entirely taken up with theſe Thoughts, and the Generals and the Captains at their Return to the Camp reported, That *Ariſtarchus* had diſmiſſed them with Orders to attend him again in the Evening. This confirmed their Suſpicion, that ſome Treachery was forming againſt them. And *Xenophon* obſerving the Omens in the Sacrifices, favouring his Deſign of leading the Army into the Service of *Seuthes*, took *Polycrates* of *Athens*, one of the Captains, and from each of the Generals, *Neon* excepted, one, whoſe Fidelity to his General was unqueſtionable, and went by Night to the Army of *Seuthes*, that lay about ſixty Furlongs diſtant. Approaching the Camp, he found ſome Fires, but no one was ſitting by them, which at firſt gave him Cauſe to ſuſpect, that *Seuthes* had removed his Camp. But a great Confuſion ariſing among the Soldiers of *Seuthes*, making Signals to each other, he perceived, that the Fires had been lighted before the Camp, that the Watch, being in the Dark, might not be diſcovered, nor their Place of Guard diſcerned; and that none might approach unobſerved, but be diſcovered by the Light of the Fires. When he perceived this, he ſends forward an Interpreter, whom he had brought with him, with Orders to tell *Seuthes* that *Xenophon* was near the Camp, and deſired Admittance to him. The Guard demanded, if he were the *Athenian* from the Army, and receiving Anſwer that he was the ſame, they leaped up, and ran to *Seuthes*. And in a ſhort Time, a Guard of about 200 Targeteers came and conducted *Xenophon* and the Deputies with him to *Seuthes*. He

was

was lodged in a Tower ſtrongly garriſoned, and a Body of Cavalry quartered round it with their Horſes ready bridled. They kept a ſtrict Watch by Night for fear of a Surprize, and ſent their Horſes to graze by Day. For (*d*) *Teres*, one of this Man's Anceſtors being encamped with a large Army in this Country, is ſaid to have loſt the greateſt Part of his Men with all his Baggage. The Natives are called the *Thyni*, and by Report excel in beating up Quarters by Night. When they came to the Tower, Orders were given to introduce *Xenophon* and two of the Deputies. At their firſt Meeting, they ſaluted each other, and drank Wine out of Cups made of Horn, after the Cuſtom of all *Thrace*. *Medoſades*, whom *Seuthes* employed to negotiate all his Affairs in Embaſſies abroad, was preſent at the Conference. Then *Xenophon* addreſſed *Seuthes* in this Manner. When I was at *Chalcedon*, O *Seuthes*, you ſent this *Medoſades* to me, ſoliciting my Endeavours to bring the Army over from *Aſia*; and making large Promiſes (as this *Medoſades* aſſured me) of Requital if I ſhould effect your Deſire. On this he turned to *Medoſades*, and demanded if theſe Things were true. He replyed, they are true. When I returned to the Army from *Parium*, *Medoſades* came again to me with Aſſurances, that if I would lead the Army into your Service, you would prove a Friend and a Brother to me, and would deliver up to me all the maritime Towns within your Territories. On this he demanded of *Medoſades*, if he had

(*d*) *Ariſtophanes* mentions a King of *Thrace*, of this Name, the Son of *Sitalces*, whom the *Athenians* made free of their City. But whether he is the *Teres* mentioned in this Place, I know not.

had made theſe Promiſes to him. He confeſſed that he had made them. Then, ſaid he, relate to *Seuthes* the Anſwer which I gave you at *Chalcedon*. Your Anſwer was, that the Army ſhould croſs over to *Byzantium*, and that it was needleſs for him to enter into any Engagements to you, or any other Perſon on that Account. And you added, that you ſhould quit the Army on their Landing on this Side. And what you told me came to paſs. And what was my Reply to your Meſſage at *Selymbria*? You declared that it was not in your Power; but that the Army was to march to *Perinthus*, and from thence croſs over into *Aſia*. But now replyed *Xenophon*, I am come unto you with *Phryniſcus*, one of the Generals, and *Polycrates* one of the Captains; and the other Generals, *Neon* the *Lacedæmonian* excepted, have ſent Commiſſioners, on whom they can confide, who are now waiting without, and ſhould alſo be preſent at the Treaty, if you are deſirous to have it firmly ratified. And do you *Polycrates* give them Orders to enter without their Arms, and do you alſo leave your Sword with the Guard. To this *Seuthes* replyed, That he had no Diffidence of an *Athenian*, for he knew that the *Athenians* were his (*e*) Relations, and he looked on them as his affectionate Friends. The Deputies being admitted, *Xenophon* demanded from *Seuthes* wherein he intended to employ the Army. To which he made this Reply. *Meſades* my Father reigned over the *Melandeptæ* the *Thyni* and *Thranipſæ*.

(*e*) The Conſanguinity of the *Athenians* with the *Thracians* was by the Marriage of *Progne*, Daughter of *Pandion*, King of *Athens* with *Tereus* King of *Thrace*, from whom *Seuthes* was deſcended. Some of the greateſt *Athenians* alſo intermarried with the *Thracians*. Thus *Cimon* was the Son of *Miltiades* by a Daughter of the King of *Thrace*.

Thranipſæ. But the Power of the (*f*) *Odryſæ* beginning to decline, theſe Nations threw off the Yoke, and ſoon after my Father dies. I was left an Orphan, and brought up by *Amadochus* the King now reigning. But when I came to Man's Eſtate, I could not bear to live in Dependance on the Table of another Man. And one Day as I ſate at Table with him, I entreated him in a ſuppliant Manner, to grant me all Aſſiſtance poſſible, that I might avenge myſelf on thoſe, that had expelled us from our Right, and lead no longer the Life of a Dog, continually hanging at his Table for my Meat. On this he granted me a Body of Horſe, which I ſhall ſhew you when it is Light. And by theſe I procure a Subſiſtance, plundering the Countries that were ſubject to my Anceſtors. And I doubt not, but, by your Aſſiſtance and the Favour of the Gods, to recover the Dominion over them; and on this Occaſion I ſtand in Need of your Service. Declare then, ſaid *Xenophon*, what Pay the Soldiers, the Captains, and the Generals ſhall receive, that theſe Men may report your Offers to the Army. On this he promiſed to give to every private Soldier a Cyzicene *per* Month, two to a Captain, and four to a General, with as much Ground as ſhould ſatisfy their Deſires, with Cattle to plow it, and a fortified Town on the Sea-Coaſt. But, ſaid *Xenophon*, ſhould the Army ſtand in Fear of the Reſentment of the *Lacedæmonians*; and ſhould I fail to compaſs this Affair, will

(*f*) The *Odryſæ* were ſo named from *Odryſus*, firſt King and Founder of the Power of this People, who in regard of the Benefit they received from him, paid divine Honours to him.

will you entertain ſuch Men as ſhall voluntarily enter into your Service? He returned, I will receive them as my Brethren, they ſhall ſit at my Table, and have a ſhare of all my Conqueſts. And on you, O *Xenophon*, will I beſtow my Daughter, and if you have a Daughter, I will purchaſe her from you according to the Cuſtom of the *Thracians*; and I will reſign unto you *Biſanthe*, the beſt Town that I poſſeſs on the Sea-Coaſt. On this the *Grecians* enterchanged their Right-Hands with him, and took their Leave; and they returned ſafe to the Camp before it was Day; and each Deputy made a Report of the Propoſals to his ſuperior Officer. Early in the Morning *Ariſtarchus* ſent again for the Captains and Generals, who agreed to decline going to him, and to call an Aſſembly of the Army. All the Soldiers, the Forces under *Neon* excepted, who were encamped about ten Furlongs from the reſt of the Army, obeyed the Summons of their Generals. The Army being aſſembled, *Xenophon* ſtood up, and addreſſed them in this Manner. *Ariſtarchus*, who hath the Command of the Sea, O Men, oppoſes our Deſires of paſſing iuto *Aſia*; ſo that it is by no Means conſiſtent with our Safety to embark in any Veſſels. Moreover this ſame Man gives us poſitive Orders to force a Paſſage over the ſacred Mountain into the *Cherroneſus*; and, if we put our Enemies to the Rout, and make good our March thither, he aſſures us, that we ſhall be neither ſold for Slaves, as we were at *Byzantium*, nor any longer defrauded of our Pay, neither through Negligence ſuffer under ſcarcity of Proviſions, as we ſuffer at preſent. Theſe Declarations he makes unto us. On the other Hand, *Seuthes* makes you Offers of a grateful Return if you will enter into his

his Service. You are therefore to reſolve whether you will take theſe Offers under Conſideration in your preſent Quarters, or after your Removal to ſuch Parts, wherein you may be ſupplyed with Neceſſaries. Since then we were deſtitute of Money to purchaſe Proviſions, and under a Prohibition to take them by Force; I am of Opinion that we ſhould remove into ſuch Villages as where the Inhabitants, being inferior to us in Strength, may grant us free Permiſſion to ſupply ourſelves, and that, when we are provided with Neceſſaries, we receive ſuch Offers as ſhall be propoſed to you, and chuſe thoſe that you ſhall think moſt adviſeable to be embraced. And let thoſe that concur with me in this Opinion, hold up their Hands. All held them up. Go then, added he, put up your Baggage, and, at Warning given, follow your Leader. After this *Xenophon* led out the Troops, and they followed. But *Neon* and ſome Meſſengers from *Ariſtarchus* adviſed them to alter their Reſolution; but they liſtened not to their Advice. When they had marched about thirty Furlongs, *Seuthes* met them, and *Xenophon* deſired him to ride forward, that he might ſpeak, what he judged to be Expedient, in the Audience of many of the Army as poſſible. When he was come up, *Xenophon* ſpoke thus. We are marching in Queſt of ſome Place, from whence our Troops may be ſupplyed with a Competancy of Proviſions, and there we ſhall take into conſideration the Propoſals which you and the *Lacedæmonians* have propoſed to us, and we ſhall embrace thoſe which ſhall be decreed to be moſt conducive to our Good. If then you will conduct us to a Place abounding with plenty of Proviſions, we ſhall judge ourſelves to be entertained by you. *Seuthes* replyed, I can direct

rect you to many Villages contiguous to each other, and abounding with all Manner of Neceſſaries, and which you can with eaſe reach at the Time of Dinner. Lead us on then, ſaid *Xenophon*. Having reached the Villages about the Evening, the Army was aſſembled, and *Seuthes* ſpake to them in this Manner. I earneſtly intreat you, O Men, to grant me your Aſſiſtance againſt my Enemies; and I promiſe to give a *Cyzicene per* Month to every private Soldier, and the uſual Pay to the Captains and Generals. Moreover I will confer Rewards on the Brave according to their Merit. And you ſhall be provided with Victuals and with Drink from the Country, as you are at preſent. The Plunder taken in the War I claim as pertaining to myſelf, that by the Sale of it, I may raiſe Money to pay you. My Forces alone are ſufficient to go both in Purſuit, and in Queſt of ſuch of our Enemies, as either betake themſelves to Flight, or to lurking Places; and we ſhall join with you againſt thoſe that ſhall attempt to oppoſe us. Then *Xenophon* demanded to what Diſtance from the Sea he would require to lead the Army. He anſwered, That their greateſt Diſtance ſhould not be more than ſeven Days March from the Sea, and frequently not ſo far. After this Liberty was granted to every one to deliver his Opinion, and many declared that the Offers of *Seuthes* were by all Means to be embraced, in as much as the Winter Seaſon was approaching, and a Paſſage into *Greece* by Sea not poſſible; and, if they were conſtrained to purchaſe Neceſſaries, it was not in their Power to remain within the Diſtricts of their Friends, and they could ſubſiſt and maintain themſelves in the Territories of their Enemies, in Conjuction with the Forces of *Seuthes*, with leſs Danger than

by

by themſelves. And when ſo many Advantages accrued, their Pay was to be deemed a Boon offered to them. To this *Xenophon* added, If any one hath Objections to make, let him declare them, otherwiſe let the Votes be gathered. And no one making any Objections, the Votes were gathered, and it was ratified by a Decree. And he inſtantly acquainted *Seuthes*, that the Army would enter into his Service. After this the Troops took up their Quarters according to their reſpective Diviſions, and *Seuthes* invited the Captains and Generals to ſup with him in a neighbouring Village. *Heraclides* of (g) *Maronæa* ſtood at the Door of the Houſe, and accoſted ſuch Gueſts, as he imagined could make any Preſent to *Seuthes*. Among the Gueſts were ſome Citizens of *Parium*, who were going to negotiate a Treaty with *Amadochus* King of the *Odryſæ*, and had Preſents both for him and his Queen. Theſe he addreſſed, telling them, That *Amadochus* kept his Court at more than twelve Days Journey diſtant from the Sea, and that *Seuthes* by the Aſſiſtance of that Army, would be Maſter of all the Sea-Coaſt; and, as he will be a Neighbour to you, he will be more capable of acting either to your Advantage or Prejudice. If you will then, added he, act with common Prudence, you ſhall beſtow on him your Preſents, and it will turn more to your Advantage, than if you made them to *Amadochus*, who lives more remote from you. Theſe Inſinuations prevailed on them. Having alſo heard that *Timaſion* of *Dardania*, was Maſter of fine drinking Bowls,

(g) *Maronæa* was a City of that Part at *Thrace* called *Cicconia*, near the Mouth of the *Hebrus*. But as *Heraclides* is hereafter called a *Gracian*, it muſt be here underſtood, that he was either a *Gracian* ſettled there or deſcended from *Gracian* Anceſtors.

and Pieces of *Barbarian* Tapeſtry, he intimated to him, that it was the Cuſtom, that the Gueſts invited to an Entertainment, ſhould offer Preſents to *Seuthes*. And, added he, if he becomes powerful in thoſe Parts, it will be in his Power either to reſtore you to your native Country, or raiſe you to great Fortune here. He alſo made the like Inſinuations to each of the other Generals. He alſo accoſted *Xenophon* in this Manner, You are a Native of a very powerful City, and you ſtand very fair in the Eſteem of *Seuthes*, who will perhaps beſtow on your Towns with Territories annexed to them in like Manner, as ſome of your Citizens have formerly received in thoſe Parts. And my Friendſhip for you moves me to adviſe you to teſtify your Eſteem for *Seuthes* by moſt magnificent Preſents for I am well aſſured, that the Advantages you will reap from the Favour of *Seuthes*, will as far exceed the Advantages he ſhall confer on the reſt, as your Preſents ſhall exceed theirs. This adminiſtered great Concern to *Xenophon*; for he had come from *Parium* with one Boy only, and Money ſufficient to bear the Charges of his Paſſage. At the Entertainment the chief Men of the *Thracians*, the *Græcian* Generals and Captains, with the foreign Embaſſadors ſate down in a Circle. Then were brought in about twenty Tables, covered with Meat ready carved, and large Loaves made with Leaven, faſtened with Skewers to the Meat. The Diſhes for the moſt Part were placed before the Generals. For it was the Cuſtom of the Country. And *Seuthes* taking the Loaves that were ſet near him, broke them in Pieces, which he threw to ſuch Gueſts as he thought proper, and in the like Manner he diſtributed the Fleſh, till no more was left than would ſuffice himſelf. Others

that ſate neareſt the Diſhes followed his Example. There was one *Ariſtus* of *Arcadia*, remarkable for a prodigious Eater, who did not obſerve the Cuſtom of diſtributing the Meat, by throwing it to the Gueſts, but taking in one Hand a Loaf of three *Chœnixes*, and placing the Meat on his Knees, made his Supper in that Faſhion. The Gueſts were ſerved with Horns of Wine, which none refuſed to take. But a Horn being offered to *Ariſtus*, he caſt his Eyes on *Xenophon*, and perceiving that he was not eating, ſaid to the Cupbearer, Carry the Wine to that Man, for he is at Leiſure to take it, but I am not. *Seuthes* hearing him ſpeak, demanded from the Cupbearer what he ſaid, and the Cupbearer, who underſtood the *Greek* Language, immediately interpreted the Words to him. On this a great Laughter aroſe among the Company. The Wine going briskly round, a *Thracian* entered the Room, leading a white Horſe, and taking a Bumper of Wine in his Hand, he ſpoke in this Manner. I drink to your Health, O *Seuthes*, and I make you a Preſent of this Horſe. And when you are mounted on it, you may overtake your Enemies in a Purſuit, and need not be afraid of them in a Retreat. Another brought in a Boy, and drinking to him, made a Preſent of the Boy. And a third in like Manner preſented him with a fine Dreſs for his Wife. *Timaſion* alſo drank to him, and preſented him with a Silver Bowl, and ſome Pieces of Tapeſtry, to the Value of ten *Minæ*. But one *Gneſippus* of *Athens* riſing up ſaid, That it was an ancient and laudable Cuſtom, that Men poſſeſſed of great Riches, ſhould teſtify their Reſpect for Kings by Preſents, but that Kings ſhould be liberal to the Neceſſitous. And thus, added he, I ſhould have it in my Power

alſo to teſtify by Preſents my Reſpect for you. *Xenophon* alſo was at a Loſs how to behave in this Matter. For *Seuthes* had placed him on his Right-Hand, as a Mark of Honour, and *Heraclides* ordered the Cupbearer to offer a Horn to *Xenophon*. He had already drank pretty freely; but, taking the Cup in his Hand, he roſe up, and, with agreat Preſence of Mind, ſpoke thus. I preſent you, O *Seuthes*, with my own Perſon, and with the Reaſons of theſe my Companions, to be bound unto you by a ſincere Friendſhip. Nor does one of them act herein by Conſtraint, but they all, with no leſs Alacrity than myſelf, deſire to be your Friends. And they now wait on you, not to ſollicit a Boon, but to ſeek an Opportunity to ſerve you by Fatigues and Dangers. And, if the Gods prove not averſe, you ſhall by their Aſſiſtance be not only reinſtated in the Inheritance of your Anceſtors, but alſo make great Acquiſitions. And you ſhall be Maſter of Horſes, and of Men, and of beautiful Women in great Abundance, and theſe not acquired by Rapine, but the Preſents of thoſe that ſhall make their Court to you. Then *Seuthes* ſtanding up, pledged him, and having drank out the Wine, delivered the Horn to the Man on his Left-Hand. After this ſome Citizens of *Ceraſus* were introduced, and they ſound an Alarm on Flutes and Trumpets of raw Hides, and play Tunes on them, as on the (*b*) *Magades*. *Seuthes* alſo ſtanding up ſung a martial Song, and with great Activity took a Leap, as if he had been ſhunning the Stroke of a Weapon. Buffoons alſo were introduced. About

(*b*) The *Magades* was a ſtringed Inſtrument, and ſeems to be of the ſame Nature as the *Lyra*. *Timotheus* encreaſing the Number of the Strings, was baniſhed as being the Author of an Innovation, tending to enervate the Majeſty of the ancient Muſic.

About Sun-ſet, the *Græcians* roſe up and ſaid, that it was Time to ſet the Guard for the Night, and to give the Word. And they deſired *Seuthes* to give Orders, that no *Thracian* might approach the Camp of the *Græcians* by Night; for we are on Terms of War with ſome of the *Thracians*, and are in Amity with you. Then *Seuthes* inſtantly roſe from his Seat, (*i*) free from all Appearance of being heated with Wine, and going out, called a ſeparate Council of the Generals, and ſpoke to them in this Manner. Our Alliance, O Men, is as yet a Secret to our Enemies, and if we fall on them, before they have taken any Precautions againſt a Surprize, or made any Preparations for their Defence, we ſhall not fail to get a great Booty of Plunder, and to take many Priſoners. The Generals approved of this Advice, and deſired him to lead them on. He anſwered, Do you hold yourſelves in a Readineſs at your Camp, and I ſhall at a proper Seaſon go thither to you, and by the Favour of the Gods, I ſhall march againſt the Enemy with my own Targeteers and your Forces. Then *Xenophon* ſaid. As we are to march by Night, conſider, whether it may not be more eligible to put in Practice the Diſcipline of the *Græcians*, For by Day either their heavy-armed Infantry, or their Cavalry, as the Ground will permit, compoſe

(*i*) We have here another Inſtance of the Gratitude and Good-Nature of *Xenophon*, in giving Encomiums to his Friends. For here he takes Occaſion to inform us, that *Seuthes* was not tainted with the Barbarity of the *Thracians*, who were ſo addicted to drinking, that to drink like a *Thracian*, was proverbially uſed for drinking unmixed Wine, and drinking to Exceſs. *Horace* tells us that they fell together by the Ears in their Cups.

Natis in uſum lætitiæ Scyphis
Pugnare Thracum eſt.

compoſe the Van of their Army, but, in a March by Night, the ſloweſt Part leads the Way. For by this Order the Troops are leſs ſubject to a Separation, and any Diſperſion is more eaſily diſcovered. And when the Troops are diſperſed, they frequently fall foul on, and do Miſchief to one another. *Senthes* replyed, Your Advice is very juſt, and I will follow your Diſcipline. And I ſhall deliver unto you ſome old Men, that are beſt acquainted with the Country for Guides; and I ſhall follow with the Horſe in the Rear, from whence I can ride forward to the Van, if you are in Diſtreſs. Then they gave the Word the (*k*) Conſanguinity of the *Athenians*, and retired to their Reſt. About Mid-Night *Senthes* arrived at the Camp with his Cavalry (which had no other Arms than Breaſt-Plates) and his Targeteers who were compleatly armed. And he having delivered the Guides into the Hands of the *Græcians*, the heavy, Armed led on, the Targeteers followed them, and the Cavalry brought up the Rear. When it was Day *Senthes* rode forward to the Van, and ſpoke much in Commendation of the *Grecian* Diſcipline. I have, ſaid he, taken frequent Marches by Night, and, though I commanded an inconſiderable Number of Troops, the Horſe were always ſeparated from the Foot, but now at Break of Day we are cloſe in a Body as we ought to be. Do you then halt and refreſh yourſelves, and I will go forward to explore the Country. After this ſhort Speech, he rode off with the Horſe, bending his Courſe along the Road

(*k*) In ſome Editions it is Ἀθηνᾶιαν, and not Ἀθηνᾶιοι If the former is the true Reading, it muſt be tranſlated *Minerva* for our Conſanguinity. I preferred the Latter as the moſt agreeable to the Deſign of *Senthes*, who before claimed Kindred with the *Athenians*.

Road that led over the Mountain, and reaching a Place where the Ground was covered with Snow, he looked narrowly on the Road, if he could diſcern the Footſteps of Men either paſſing or repaſſing. But perceiving the Road to be unbeaten, he returned again in great Haſte, and ſpoke thus, By the Favour of the Gods, O Men, our Enterprize ſhall be crowned with Succeſs; for our Enemies are not apprized of our March. I ſhall therefore ſcout before with the Horſe, to prevent thoſe that notice us, both from Flight, and from giving Intelligence to the Enemy. Do you follow, and if you are caſt behind, direct your March by the Tracks of the Horſes. When we have paſſed the Mountains, we ſhall come to a Part abounding with Villages of great Opulence. About Noon they reached the Tops of the Mountains, at the Roots of which he diſcerned the Villages. On which he rode back to the heavy armed Troops, and ſpoke thus. I will ſend off the Horſe to ſcour the Plain, and the Targeteers to fall on the Villages. Do you follow with all Diligence, that you may be at Hand if the Enemy makes any Reſiſtance. *Xenophon* diſmounting from his Horſe, *Seuthes* ſaid, why do you quit your Horſe, when Expedition is neceſſary. He anſwered, I am ſenſible that my Preſence alone is not requiſite, and if I lead on the Army on Foot, the Heavy-armed will follow with more Expedition, and with greater Alacrity. Then *Timaſion* alſo with the *Græcian* Horſe, which were about Forty, rode off with *Seuthes*. And *Xenophon* gave Orders, that thoſe that were under thirty Years of Age, ſhould repair from their ſeveral Companies without their Baggage to him, and with theſe he haſtened after *Seuthes*. *Cleanor* commanded the remaining Forces

ces. As ſoon as they came to the Villages, *Seuthes* with a Party of Horſe rode up to *Xenophon*, and ſaid. I am as you formerly aſſured me, Maſter of the Men. But my Horſe have forſaken me, and gone different Ways in Purſuit of the Enemy, ſo that I am afraid, leaſt the Enemy rally and do us Miſchief. And it is no leſs neceſſary that ſome of the Troops remain in the Villages, for they are full of Inhabitants. To this *Xenophon* replyed, I will ſecure the Tops of the Mountains with the Forces under me, and do you ſend Orders to *Cleanor* to extend the Phalanx along the Plain, cloſe by the Villages. Theſe Things were put in Execution, and they brought together one thouſand Priſoners, two thouſand Oxen, and ten thouſand Head of other Cattle. And they took up their Quarters on the Spot. The next Day *Seuthes* ſet Fire to the Villages, and left not one Houſe ſtanding, in Order to ſtrike the greater Terror into the Enemy, and to let them ſee what they were to expect, if they refuſed to ſubmit to him. Having effected this, he marched off with the Army. The Booty was ſent to *Perinthus*, under the Care of *Heraclides*, who was ordered to diſpoſe of it there, and raiſe Money for the Payment of the Troops. *Seuthes* and the *Græcians* encamped in the Plain of the *Thym*, who abandoned their Dwellings, and retired to the Mountains.

It was a deep Snow, and the Froſt was ſo ſharp, that both the Water, which was daily brought in for their Meals, and the Wine in their Veſſels were frozen, and many of the *Græcians* had their Noſes and Ears ſcorched off by the raging Cold. And now was diſcernible the Reaſon, for which the *Thracians* wore on their Heads Caps made of the Skins of Foxes, which covered their Ears, and

why

why their Coats covered not only their Bodies, but alſo their Thighs, and why they wore not Cloaks on Horſeback, but Caſſocks that reached down to their Feet. *Seuthes* ſent off one of the Priſoners to thoſe that had fled to the Mountains, with this Meſſage. That unleſs they returned to their Habitations, and ſubmitted to him, he would ſet Fire to their Villages, burn their Stacks of Corn, and ſtarve them to Death. On this the Women with their Children, and the aged People came down from the Hills, but the young Men encamped in the Villages at the Foot of the Mountains. *Seuthes* having received Intelligence of this, ordered *Xenophon* to make a Draught of the youngeſt Soldiers of the Heavy-armed, and to attend him. And ſetting out from the Camp by Night, at Break of Day they reached the Villages; but the Mountains being near, the greateſt Part of the Enemy made their Eſcape thither; but thoſe that fell into the Hands of *Seuthes* had no Quarter granted to them. There was one *Epiſthenes* of *Olynthus*, a moſt paſſionate Lover of Boys, who ſeeing a beautiful Priſoner, juſt come to Man's Eſtate, with a Target in his Hand, going to be executed, ran to *Xenophon*, and requeſted his Intereſt to ſave the Life of the beautiful Boy. He inſtantly went to *Seuthes*, and interceded for the Boy, repreſenting to him the Temper of *Epiſthenes*, and how in raiſing his Company, he had Regard to no other Qualification but comelineſs in his Men; adding alſo in his Commendation, that he was a very gallant Soldier. On this *Seuthes* ſaid to him, are you willing, *Epiſthenes*, to preſerve his Life by ſubmitting to his Fate. On which he ſtretching out his Neck ſaid, Strike, *Seuthes*, if it be the Deſire of the Boy, and the Means of ob-

taining this Favour from you. Then *Seuthes* demanded from the Boy, if he ſhould put *Epiſthenes* to Death in his ſtead; but the Boy would not conſent and in a ſuppliant Manner intreated, that neither of them might ſuffer Death. Then *Epiſthenes* embracing the Boy, ſaid, You muſt fight with me, O *Seuthes*, if you will have the Boy, for I ſhall not part with him. On this *Seuthes* ſmiled, and pardoned the Boy.

It was now thought adviſeable to encamp in this Place, to prevent thoſe that had fled to the Mountain, from receiving any Suſtenance from the Villages. *Seuthes* encamped in the Plain beneath the Villages. *Xenophon* was quartered in a Village, under the Brow of the Hill, and the Reſt of the *Græcians* at a ſmall Diſtance in thoſe Parts, that are by the *Thracians* called the *Highlands*. They had not lain long in this Poſture, till ſome of the *Thracians* came down from the Mountain, to treat of a Truce with the Delivery of Hoſtages. And *Xenophon* at the ſame Time acquainted *Seuthes*, that his Quarters were very near the Enemy, and in a Place of no Security; and that he might be quartered in a Poſt of ſome Strength without the Village, more commodiouſly than in thoſe Streights, where they were in Danger of being cut off. But he deſired him to be under no Concern, and ſhewed to him the Hoſtages of the Enemy. Others alſo of the Enemy, coming down to *Xenophon*'s Quarters, intreated him to mediate a Truce. To this he readily conſented, and deſiring them to lay aſide all their Fears, aſſured them, that they ſhould receive no Harm, provided they would ſubmit to *Seuthes*. But their Intent in this was to make what Diſcoveries they poſſibly could. The Night following the *Thyni* deſcended from their Mountains,

tains, and attacked his Quarters, under the Guidance of the Maſters of the reſpective Houſes; for otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for them to have found in the Dark the Entrance into their Houſes, which were fenced round with ſtrong Palliſadoes, to keep in their Cattle. When they came to the Door of any Houſe, ſome threw in Darts, others battered them with Clubs, which, as they afterwards confeſſed, they had brought in Order to break off the Heads of the Lances. Others attempted to ſet the Houſes on Fire, calling *Xenophon* by Name to come out and die bravely, or they ſhould burn him alive in the Houſe. The Fire had burnt through the Roof, and the Soldiers with *Xenophon* were by this Time compleatly armed with their Breaſt-Plates, and Shields, and Swords, and Helmets, when *Silanus* of *Meceſtus*, who was about eighteen Years of Age, ſounded the Trumpet for the Fight, and immediately the *Græcians* with their Swords drawn ruſhed out of that Houſe, and alſo other adjoining Houſes. The *Thracians* caſting their Targets, as their uſual Manner is, behind their Backs, betake themſelves to Flight. And ſome, being entangled by their Targets, hung on the Palliſadoes in their Attempts to leap over; others, miſſing the Paſſage, were ſlain by the *Græcians*, who followed the Purſuit without the Village. But ſome of the *Thyni* ſtealing back into the Village under the Cover of the Night, and concealing themſelves in the Dark, diſcharged their Darts at the *Græcians* as they paſſed by any Houſe that was in Flames. *Hieronymus*, *Euodeas* and *Theagenes* of *Locris*, all Captains, were by this Stratagem wounded, but not one Man loſt his Life; nevertheleſs, the Cloaths and Baggage of ſome of the Soldiers were conſumed by the Flames.

Seuthes

Seuthes with a Party of ſeven Horſe, the firſt he could get together, came to their Aſſiſtance. He had with him a *Thracian* Trumpeter, which ſounded the Trumpet during his March to their Aſſiſtance; and this alſo adminiſtered Terror to the Enemy. Having reached the Village, he embraced *Xenophon*, ſaying, that he was afraid that he ſhould have found many of them ſlain. Then *Xenophon* requeſted that the Hoſtages might be delivered into his Hands, and that he would, if he thought it proper, march in Perſon with the *Gracians* to attack the Enemy on the Mountains; or otherwiſe to grant him Liberty, to attack them with the *Gracians*. The next Day, *Seuthes* delivered to *Xenophon* the Hoſtages. who were old Men of the beſt Families among the Highlanders; and came alſo in Perſon with his own Troops, which were now augmented to triple their former Number. For the Succeſs of *Seuthes* having reached the *Odryſæ*, great Numbers of them reſorted to him. The *Thyni* diſcerning from their Mountains both heavy-armed Troops, Targeteers and Horſe in great Numbers, advancing againſt them, came down, and ſued for a Peace; being ready to ſubmit on any Terms, and deſired him to take what Pledges he pleaſed for the Performance of them. *Seuthes*, ſending for *Xenophon*, communicated to him their Deſire of Submiſſion, declaring, that he would not treat with them, if *Xenophon* aimed at any Revenge for the late Aſſault. He replyed, I think it an ample Revenge to reduce them from Liberty to Slavery. But, added he, it is my Advice, that for the future you demand for Hoſtages ſuch as are moſt capable of doing you Miſchief, and to ſuffer the old Men to remain at Home in Peace. Then all the *Thracians* in thoſe Parts ſubmitted likewiſe to him.

Hence

Hence they paſſed over againſt the *Thracians* that live above *Byzantium* in thoſe Parts that are called *Deltæ*. This Country had never been ſubject to *Meſades*, though it had been under the Dominion of *Tereus*, who many Ages ſince reigned over the *Odryſæ*. Here *Heraclides* returned with the Money, which he had raiſed by the Sale of the Plunder. And *Seuthes*, ſending for three Pair of Mules (for they were no more) and ſome Yokes of Oxen, deſired *Xenophon* to take the former for himſelf, and to diſtribute the others among the Generals and Captains. To this *Xenophon* replyed, I reſt content if I hereafter partake of your Bounty; and I deſire, that theſe may be conferred on the Generals and Captains, that have accompanyed me into your Service. Then *Timaſion* of *Dardania*, *Cleanor* of *Orchomenos*, and *Phryniſcus* of *Achæa* took each a Pair of Mules, and the Oxen were diſtributed among the Captains. A Month being now elapſed, he gave the Army Pay for twenty Days only; for *Heraclides* declared, that the Money, raiſed by the Sale of the Plunder, amounted to no more. But *Xenophon* with ſome warmth told him; You are in my Opinion, *Heraclides*, too negligent of the Concerns of *Seuthes*, for, if you had his Welfare at Heart, you would have brought the full Pay for the Soldiers, and if you could have raiſed the Money by no other Means, you ſhould have taken it up at Intereſt, or even ſold your wearing Apparel. This Diſcourſe adminiſtered great Perplexity and Apprehenſion to *Heraclides*, leaſt that *Seuthes* ſhould turn him out of Favour; and from this Time he ſought all Occaſions of doing *Xenophon* ill Offices with *Senthes*. The Soldiers alſo laid on *Xenophon* the Blame that they wanted their Pay; and *Seuthes* was no leſs offended

ſended with him, for inſiſting ſo ſtrenuouſly on the Arrears due to the Soldiers. He had hitherto made continual Declarations, of delivering *Biſanthe* and *Ganos*, and the new Fort into his Hands, as ſoon as he ſhould reach the Sea-Coaſt: But from this Time he was ſilent as to that Point. Moreover *Heraclides* did him an ill Turn in this alſo, inſinuating, that thoſe Towns could not with Safety, be put into the Hands of a Man that was Maſter of ſo powerful an Army. And from this Time *Xenophon* deliberated with himſelf, whether it were convenient to attend *Seuthes* in any Enterprize more remote from the Sea-Coaſt. And *Heraclides* introducing the other Generals to *Seuthes*, gave them this Advice, That they ſhould declare to *Seuthes*, that they had no leſs Authority with the Army than *Xenophon*. He alſo made them freſh Aſſurances, that they ſhould receive two Months Pay within a few Days; and adviſed them to attend *Seuthes* in his Wars. *Timaſion* replyed, were I aſſured of receiving five Months Pay, I would not be concerned in any Enterprize wherein *Xenophon* does not bear a Part. *Phryniſcus* alſo, and *Cleanor* ſpoke to the ſame Purpoſe. Then *Seuthes* bitterly reproached *Heraclides*, for his Neglect to ſend for *Xenophon*, and from this Time he alone was ſent for by them; but the crafty Deſigns of *Heraclides* being well known to *Xenophon*, and that his Intent herein was to create a Jealouſy in the other Generals, he conſtantly takes with him all the Generals and Captains in the Army.

After this, the whole Army aſſenting, they followed *Seuthes*, and marching through the Country of the (*l*) *Melinophagi*, with the *Pontus* on their Right-

(*l*) This Nation was ſo called from their manner of giving the greateſt Part of their Food, conſiſting of Millet.

Right-Hand, they arrive at *Salmydeſſus*, a Place, by Reaſon of the Shallows along Shore, remarkable for the Wrecks of many Ships that trade up the *Pontus*. The Inhabitants of theſe Parts, marking out with Pillars Diviſions along the Coaſt, plunder whatever Wrecks are caſt on Shore within their reſpective Diviſions. But before theſe Diviſions were made, there aroſe between the Plunderers continual Quarrels, wherein was much Bloodſhed on either Side. Here they found ſtore of Hammocks, Cheſts, Books, and many other Inſtruments requiſite to Mariners. Having reduced theſe Parts to Obedience, they turned back again. At this Time the Forces of *Senthes* were more numerous than the *Græcians*, and the *Odryſæ*, in greater Numbers than ever, reſorted to him from their Mountains; the Inhabitants alſo of the conquered Countries joined his Army. They had now taken up their Quarters in the Plains above *Selybria* about 50 Furlongs from the Sea; and there was not the leaſt Appearance of receiving their Arrears. This not only incenſed the Army againſt *Xenophon*; but he likewiſe was not treated with the uſual Confidence by *Seuthes*, who made various Pretexts of Buſineſs at ſuch Times as Admittance to him was deſired. Having ſpent near two Months in this Manner, *Charminus* of *Lacedæmon* and *Polynicus* arrive at the Camp with this Meſſage from *Thimbro*, That the *Lacedæmonians* had decreed to enter into a War with *Tiſſaphernes*, and that *Thimbro*, to whom the Management of the War was committed, was actually ſet out by Sea. And added they, he intreats the Aſſiſtance of this Army, and aſſures us, that he will give to every private Soldier one *Daric* per Month, to every Captain two *Darics*, and to every General four. *Heraclides*,

raclides, being apprized of the Arrival of the *Lacedæmonians*, without Delay told *Seuthes* that Matters had fallen out very luckily; for, ſaid he, the *Lacedæmonians* ſtand in need of this Army; and you have no further Occaſion for it, and by parting with the Army, you will both gratify the *Lacedæmonians*, free yourſelf from any further Demands for Pay, and likewiſe eaſe the Country of them. *Seuthes* hearing this, gave Orders to bring unto him the Envoys, who having laid before him the Occaſion of their Coming, he told them, that he is ready to deliver the Army unto them, and that he is deſirous of their Friendſhip and Alliance. He alſo invited them to a Feaſt of Hoſpitality, and entertained them in a magnificent Manner. But neither *Xenophon* nor any other of the Generals were invited by him. And the *Lacedæmonians* enquiring what ſort of a Man *Xenophon* was, he replyed, that in other Reſpects he is not ill, but that he is Zealous for the Welfare of the Army, and this proves prejudicial to his own Affairs. They then asked, Is the Man popular among the Soldiers? *Heraclides* returned, he is very much ſo. Will he not then, ſaid they, make Oppoſition to our Deſign of leading away the Army? But if you, replyed *Heraclides*, make little Application to him, and aſſembling the Soldiers without his Privity, give them Aſſurances of entring into Pay, they will not heed him, but run off with you. But by what Means, ſaid they, ſhall we be able to convene the Soldiers? To Morrow early, replyed *Heraclides*, we will conduct you to the Camp, and I am certain, that at the Sight of you they will with great Eagerneſs haſten to aſſemble themſelves. Thus Matters ſtood this Day.

The

The Day following, *Seuthes* and *Heraclides* conduct the *Lacedæmonians* to the Camp, and the Soldiers are convened. The *Lacedæmonians* repreſented to them, that a War had been decreed againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, by whom, added they, you have been very ill treated. You will therefore, by granting to us your Aſſiſtance, have an Opportunity of taking Vengeance on a Man hated by you, and every private Man ſhall receive a Daric *per* Month, every Captain two Darics, and every General four. The Soldiers readily gave Ear to this Propoſal, and one of them, an *Arcadian*, ſtood up taking this Occaſion to accuſe *Xenophon*. *Seuthes* was preſent, being deſirous to be a Witneſs of the Reſolutions of this Aſſembly. He ſtood within hearing with an Interpreter, and was himſelf well skilled in the *Greek* Language. Then the *Arcadian* began in this Manner. We had been, O *Lacedæmonians*, long ſince in your Service, had not the fair Promiſes of *Xenophon* enticed us hither, where we have ſuffered a ſevere Winter, and though we have had neither by Night or Day any Reſpite from the Fatigues of War, we have not bettered our Condition, but this Man reaps the Fruits of our Toils; and *Seuthes* hath privately heaped Riches on him, and at the ſame Time defrauds us of our Pay. I therefore give my own Vote, and I ſhould, added he, think myſelf well paid, and repine not at my paſt Fatigues, if I ſaw this Man, who hath dragged us from Place to Place, brought to condign Puniſhment, and ſtoned to Death. After him a ſecond ſtood up, and a third likwiſe. Then *Xenophon* addreſſed them thus.

Let no Man hereafter be aſtoniſhed at any Event, though ever ſo extraordinary, ſince I ſtand accuſed to you for thoſe Actions, whereof, I am conſcious

to myſelf, nothing leſs than the greateſt Zeal for your Good could have been the Motive. For though my Return into *Greece* was undertaken by the Advice of the Gods, yet I turned back again, not on any Advertiſement that you were in a flouriſhing Condition, but on Tidings of the Diſtreſſes wherein you were plunged, that I might, if poſſible, relieve you from them. And, at my Arrival unto you, I received many Meſſages from this *Seuthes* with large Offers to me, on Condition I could prevail with you to enter into his Service. And that I made no Attempts for that Purpoſe you are all conſcious. For I led you into thoſe Parts, from whence you might have the ſhorteſt Paſſage into *Aſia*; for I believed it would be moſt conducive to your Advantage, and I found you to be well inclined that Way. And when *Ariſtarchus* arrived with a Fleet, and prevented our croſſing over, I then called you to an Aſſembly, (for which I had ſurely good Reaſon) that we might conſult what Courſe to take. And when I laid before you the Commands of *Ariſtarchus*, who had ordered you to march into the *Cherroneſus*, and the Offers of *Seuthes*, who requeſted your Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies, you all made it your Choice to follow *Seuthes*, and you all concurred in a Decree to that Purpoſe. Tell me then, if I have done to you any Wrong in leading you whither you all had decreed to go? And, if the Proceedings of *Seuthes* in defrauding you of your Pay have been approved by me, I ſhould with Juſtice incur both your Reproaches and Hatred. But, if by eſpouſing your Intereſts in Oppoſition to the Intereſts of *Seuthes*, I have ſo far loſt his Favour, that I am now on very ill Terms with him, is it Juſtice in you to reproach me for thoſe Actions, which are the Occaſion

caſion of a Difference between us? But perhaps you may object, that my Artifices have prevailed on *Seuthes* to give to me what is your due. But if *Seuthes* hath conferred any thing on me, without Doubt he did not with a View of loſing his Preſents to me, and be liable to give you your Pay. And in my Opinion any Preſents to me muſt have been made with this Intent, that, by giving a leſſer Sum to me, he might be exempted from paying a greater to you. If then you have any Suſpicion that Matters have been carried on in this Manner, it is in your Power by making a Demand of your Pay, to render all private Practices between us of none Effect. For if I have received any Money from *Seuthes*, he will certainly redemand it, as he juſty may, if I fail to perform thoſe Conditions for which it was given to me. But I am far from having received any Money due to you; for, by all the Gods and Goddeſſes, even his particular Promiſes to myſelf remain yet unperformed. The Man himſelf hears me, and knows whether I am guilty of Perjury. But to ſurprize you even yet more, I alſo proteſt, that I have received leſs than the other Generals, nay even than ſome of the Captains. But why was I ſatisfied with this Treatment? I imagined, O Men, that by being his Companion in his Diſtreſs, he would be diſpoſed to give greater Inſtances of his Friendſhip in his Proſperity. But now I behold him in a proſperous Eſtate, and am no Stranger to the Diſpoſition of his Mind. But ſome perhaps will ſay, are you not aſhamed to be impoſed on thus like a Fool? Yes, by the Gods I ſhould be aſhamed, did I receive this Treatment from an Enemy. But in Friendſhip it is more baſe to deceive a Friend, than to be deceived by him. But if Circumſpection may

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be uſed in Friendſhip, I am ſenſible you are all on your Guard not to give him the leaſt Handle to falſify his Promiſes, and detain your Pay from you. For he can neither reproach us with unfair Dealings, or Dilatorineſs in his Affairs, or complain that any Danger hath withheld us from executing his Orders. But you may object that I ſhould have demanded Security for the Performance of his Promiſes, that though he ſhould have had the Will, he might have wanted the Power to have defrauded you. But I beſeech you to grant me a Hearing to what I have to offer in Anſwer to this; and which I would never have declared in the Hearing of *Seuthes*, were you not the moſt baſe and ungrateful of all Men living. You cannot but remember the ill Poſture of your Affairs, when, by my Perſwaſions, you entered into the Service of *Seuthes*. Did not *Ariſtarchus* the *Lacedæmonian* at your Approach to *Perinthus* bar the Gates againſt you, and prevent your Entrance into that City? And were you not conſtrained to take up your Quarters in the Fields under the Walls? And was not this done in the middle of Winter? Was there not a ſcarcity of Proviſions in the Markets, and did not you alſo labour under a ſcarcity of Money to purchaſe Proviſions? You were moreover under a Neceſſity of continuing in *Thrace*; for the Gallies ſtationed there obſtructed your Re-paſſing into *Aſia*: And had we continued there, we had been in the Territories of Enemies well provided with Horſe and Targeteers. Whereas our Forces conſiſting of heavy-armed, Troops we might indeed, by falling in a Body on the neighbouring Villages, have gotten an inconſiderable Booty of Corn; but as we wanted Troops proper for a Purſuit, neither Slaves, nor Cattle, could have fallen into our Hands. For during

during my ſtay with you, I have not ſeen a compact Body of Horſe, or light-armed Infantry. Had I in this neceſſitous Condition, prevailed on *Seuthes* to have been your Aſſociate in War, a Man provided with Horſe and light-armed Infantry (both of which you greatly wanted) do you think I had conſulted ill for you, though I had not inſiſted on any Pay? For ſince your Conjunction with him, you find a greater plenty of Grain in the Villages, inaſmuch as the *Thracians* are conſtrained to make a more precipitate Flight; and you are moreover Sharers of a Booty of Slaves and Cattle. And ſince this Acceſſion of his Cavalry to our Forces, we have not ſeen the Face of an Enemy; whereas formerly the Enemy without any Dread galled our Rear with their Horſe and Targeteers; ſo that we dared not divide ourſelves into ſmall Parties, even to obtain a larger Booty of Proviſions. If the Man then, which hath been the Preſerver of your Lives, hath not added a very large Pay to that Favour, are you of Opinion, that by this he hath rendered your Condition deplorable, and that he merits Death at your Hands? But what are your Circumſtances at this Inſtant of your Departure? Have you not paſſed the Winter in great Affluence of Neceſſaries, and laid up in Store what you have received from the Bounty of *Seuthes*? You have lived at the Expence of your Enemies, and to add to this, have not been Witneſſes to the Death or Captivity of any of your Companions. And have not your Victories over the *Thracians* in *Europe* added freſh Lawrels to that Glory which you acquired againſt the *Barbarians* in *Aſia*, which remains yet unſullied? I am not afraid to tell you, that you ought to render Thanks to the Gods for theſe Bleſſings, which are the Cauſe of your Indignation againſt me Thus

Thus your Affairs ſtood at that Time, and now by the Gods let us take a View of my own Condition. On my firſt Reſolution to return to my native Country, I quitted the Army with large Commendations, and my Reputation by your Means was great throughout all *Greece*. The *Lacedæmonians* alſo put great Confidence in me, otherwiſe had they not ſent me again unto you. But on my preſent Departure, I am greivouſly accuſed by you in preſence of the *Lacedæmonians*; and rendered obnoxious to *Seuthes*, whoſe Intereſt I, in conjunction with you, greatly promoted; and I flattered myſelf, that in Caſe of Neceſſity, I might find a ſafe Aſylum for myſelf and my Children within his Territories. But notwithſtanding that my Zeal for your Good, has made me hateful to Men of greater Power than myſelf, and though I even now inceſſantly embrace all Opportunities of promoting your Good; yet do you entertain ſuch Thoughts of me. But I came not unto you in the Quality either of an Exile, or a Fugitive from my Country; and if you execute your Menaces on me, be aſſured, that you will put to Death a Man, that hath ſpent many Nights in watching for your Safety, and been your Companion in many Fatigues and Dangers, both to his own Perſon, and to the whole Army. And, by the Favour of the Gods, hath in Conjunction with you erected many Trophies over the *Barbarians*; and I have uſed my utmoſt Efforts to conſerve you in Amity with all that bear the Name of *Gracians*, and with this good Effect, that you have now the Liberty, without the leaſt Reproach, of going by Sea or Land whitherſoever you pleaſe. But now in your Abundance of good Things, when you are to paſs by Sea, whither you have long wiſhed to be, and

moſt

moſt powerful States court you to be their Auxiliaries; when you have a Proſpect of receiving Pay, and the *Lacedæmonians*, who are reputed to be the Maſters of *Greece*, are come to be your Leaders, you think it a proper Time to get rid of me. (*m*) In your Afflictions you did not thus behave towards me, O Men of moſt excellent Memories; but you ſtiled me your Father, and vowed an eternal Remembrance of me as of a Benefactor. But be aſſured, that thoſe, that are now waiting to command you, are not Men that will diſown an Obligation, nor think the better of you for your Ingratitude toward me.

Having ſaid this he held his Peace, and *Charminus* the *Lacedæmonian* ſtanding up ſpoke to this Effect. In my Judgment, O Men, your Indignation againſt this Man is without Reaſon, for I can give this Teſtimony in his Behalf, that when I and *Polynicus* enquired from *Seuthes* what ſort of a Man *Xenophon* was, he replyed, that he had no other Cauſe of Complaint againſt him, but that he was too Zealous for the Intereſt of the Army, and that on this Account he was the worſe looked on both by the *Lacedæmonians* and himſelf. After this *Eurylochus*, an *Arcadian* of *Luſium*, ſtanding up ſaid. In my Opinion, O *Lacedæmonians* your firſt Step, as our Generals, ſhould be an Endeavour to procure our Arrears from *Seuthes*, either by fair Means,

(*m*) While we reap any Advantage from Power, ſo long we with Alacrity and Pleaſure ſubmit to it, but the Moment it ceaſes to be beneficial, it begins to be uneaſy, and Man ſcarce able to bear a Reſtraint, throws the heavy Yoke from off his Neck. But as Man is impatient of Power, ſo the Principles of Benevolence and Gratitude are ſo deeply implanted in us by Nature, that ſuch as have murdered their Benefactors, have in all Ages been deemed the Authors of the greateſt Impiety.

Means, or by Force, and that you ſhould by no Means lead us out of the Country, till we are ſatisfied as to our Pay. *Polycrates* of *Athens* alſo ſtanding up ſpoke thus in Defence of *Xenophon*. I perceive, O Men, preſent among us, *Heraclides*, who has received and ſold the Fruits of your Labours, and has not made Reſtitution of the Money, either to *Seuthes* or us, whom he has robbed, but now enjoys the Fruits of his Villany. And, unleſs we have loſt our Senſes, we ſhall ſecure him. For, added he, he is not a Native of *Thrace* but of *Greece*, and hath behaved injuriouſly toward us who are *Gracians*. *Heraclides* was greatly aſtoniſhed at this Speech, and accoſting *Seuthes* ſaid. If we are in our right Senſes, let us without Delay get out of the Hands of theſe Men. And inſtantly they mounted their Horſes, and rode off full ſpeed to their own Camp. And *Seuthes* diſpatches his Interpreter *Ebozelmius* to *Xenophon*, importuning him to continue in his Service with a 1000 heavy-armed Soldiers, and renewing his Promiſes, to deliver into his Hands two Towns on the Sea-Coaſt, and to make good all his former Engagements to him. He moreover privately aſſures him, that he had heard from *Polynicus*, that if he ever fell into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, he would undoubtedly be put to Death by *Thimbro*. *Xenophon* alſo received Advice to the ſame Purpoſe from many of his Friends, and that heavy Crimes had been alledged againſt him, and that he ought to take Care of himſelf. On this Advice he offered two Victims in Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Sovereign, conſulting the God, whether it might be better, and more adviſeable for him to continue with *Seuthes* on the Conditions propoſed, or to depart with the Army. And the God ſignified that he ſhould depart with the Army.

On

On this *Seuthes* removed his Camp to a greater Diſtance, and the *Græcians* took up their Quarters in ſuch Villages, as from whence they might be the moſt readily furniſhed with Grain for their March to the Sea-Coaſt. Theſe Villages had been beſtowed by *Seuthes* on *Medoſades*, who was grieved to ſee the whole Subſtance of the Villages conſumed by the *Græcians*, and, taking with him an *Odryſan*, a Man of the beſt Quality among thoſe that had reſorted from the Mountains unto *Seuthes*, he repairs with fifty Horſe, or thereabout to the *Græcian* Camp, and ſends for *Xenophon*, who with ſome of the Captains and a competent Guard goes to him. Then *Medoſades* addreſſing him, ſpoke thus. You are guilty of Injuſtice, O *Xenophon*, in laying waſte our Villages, and we give you Warning; I in the Name of *Seuthes*, and this Man in the Name of *Amadocbus*, King of all the inland Parts, to quit the Country; and unleſs you comply therewith we ſhall not bear with you. And, if you commit any Hoſtilities within our Dominions, we ſhall drive you from thence by Force. To this *Xenophon* replyed. It is indeed difficult to offer any Reply to a Speech of this Nature. But, that this young Man may be ſenſible of the Demeanour of each of us, I ſhall not hold my Tongue. Before our League of Amity with you we traverſed the Country, burning and laying it waſte at our Pleaſure; and, when you came Embaſſador to our Camp, you quartered among us free from any Dread of an Enemy. At this Time you were not in theſe Parts, and whenever you entered them, you kept your Horſes ready bridled, as being within reach of a more powerful Enemy. But ſince your League of Amity with us, you have by our Means made yourſelves Maſters of this Country, and are now

ejecting us from thoſe Parts, which you have received as a Conqueſt voluntarily from our Hands; for in my Opinion the Enemy had not Strength ſufficient to drive us out. And now far from rewarding or requiting us for the good Services we have done you, you command us to quit the Country, and, to the utmoſt of your Power, refuſe to grant us any Quarters on our March; and without Shame utter ſuch Commands in the Preſence of the Gods, and of this Man, who is a Witneſs of your preſent Riches; whereas, before our Alliance with you, by your own Confeſſion, you (*n*) ſubſiſted by Rapine. But wherefore direct you this Diſcourſe to me? I have no longer the Army under my Command, but you, O moſt wonderful Men, have transferred it to the *Lacedæmonians* to lead it away; not giving to me the leaſt Intimation of it, that, as I have incurred their Odium by entering with the Army into your Service, ſo I might have ingratiated my ſelf with them by delivering it into their Hands. The *Odryſan* hearing this Reply ſaid, O *Medoſades*, I am ready to ſink into the Earth with Shame at hearing theſe Things, and, had I not been a Stranger to them, I had not attended you hither. And I this Inſtant leave you, for *Amadochus*, my Sovereign, would not be well pleaſed, if I ſhould be aſſiſtant in thruſting out his Benefactors. At theſe Words he mounted his Horſe, and galloped off; and was followed by all the Guards, four or five

(*n*) This Paſſage would probably by the *Thracians* be eſteemed no Reflection on *Scythes*, for *Herodotus* in his Vth Book, tells us, that Idleneſs among them was eſteemed decent, and to ſubſiſt by War and Rapine thought glorious. But as Right and Wrong are eſtabliſhed in the Nature of Things, and no Cuſtom can alter them, Rapine will, by all impartial Judges, be deemed Infamous, and Injuſtice mean and diſhonourable.

five excepted. But *Medoſades*, being grieved at the Waſte made in the Country, deſired *Xenophon* to ſend for the *Lacedæmonians*. And he, with ſuch Perſons as he judged moſt proper, went to *Charminus* and *Polynicus*, and told them that *Medoſades* ſent to them to warn them, as they had already warned him, to remove the Army from their preſent Quarters. And, added he, in my Judgment, you might recover the Arrears due to the Army, by remonſtrating to him, that you are preſſed by the Army to oblige *Seuthes*, either by fair Means, or by Force, to pay off their Arrears; and that the Soldiers declare that they are ready to follow you as ſoon as they ſhall receive their Arrears; and moreover, that you think their Demands to be juſt. And you ſhould paſs your Word, that the Army ſhall remove out of the Country, as ſoon as the Soldiers receive what is due to them. The *Lacedæmonians* replyed, that they would make theſe Remonſtrances to him, and back them with ſuch other Reaſons, as they thought would be moſt prevalent on him; and they, without Delay, went to him with as many as they judged neceſſary on that Occaſion. As ſoon as they came to *Medoſades*, *Charminus* ſpoke thus. If you have any thing to ſay to us, *Medoſades* ſpeak out; but if you have nothing to ſay, give us Liberty to ſpeak to you. Then *Medoſades* in a ſubmiſſive Manner ſaid, It is my Intreaty to you, joyned with the Requeſt of *Seuthes*, that as we are in Friendſhip with you, we receive no Injuries at your Hands; for whatever Injuries are offered to the Inhabitants in theſe Parts are offered to us, for they are our Subjects. The *Lacedæmonians* replyed. And we are ready to depart from hence, whenever you pay the Arrears due to the Men that have acquired theſe Things for

you

you. But if this Juſtice be refuſed to them, we are come to their Aſſiſtance, and reſolve to take Vengeance on thoſe Men, that, in open Violation of their Oaths, have dealed injuriouſly by them. And if you are in the Number of ſuch Men, we ſhall begin with inflicting a due Puniſhment on you. Then *Xenophon* ſaid, Are you willing, *Medoſades*, to refer to the Men, whom you confeſs to be Friends to you, and in whoſe Territories we are, and to leave to their Vote, whether it is more reaſonable, that you or we ſhould withdraw out of the Country. But he refuſed to conſent to this Propoſal, and adviſed the *Lacedæmonians* to treat with *Seuthes* in Perſon, concerning the Arrears due to the Soldiers, adding, that he believed *Seuthes* would comply with their Demands. And, if they thought it not fit to go themſelves, that they ſhould ſend *Xenophon*, whom, he aſſured them, he would aſſiſt in this Affair. And he intreated them, that they would not burn the Villages. On this they deputed *Xenophon* with ſuch other Perſons as they deemed moſt proper. *Xenophon* being admitted into the Preſence of *Seuthes* ſpoke thus.

I come not, O *Seuthes* to reiterate my former Demands, but to give you all Demonſtration poſſible, that your Reſentment againſt me is very unjuſt; as I only demanded for the Soldiers the Performance of your own voluntary Promiſes. For I judged that to give them Pay would be no leſs conducive to your Advantage, than to receive Pay would turn to their Advantage. For in the firſt Place I am certain, that by making you King over many Cities, and many Nations, they have placed you in a Station next to the immortal Gods; ſo that it is impoſſible for you to conceal from the World any one Action, honourable or diſhonourable.

nourable. And, as you are now thus raiſed to this Power, it is, in my Opinion, of no ſmall Importance, not to give even a ſuſpicion of ſending away your Benefactors in an ungrateful Manner; but rather to receive the Applauſes of 6000 Men. And it is moreover of the greateſt Conſequence not to bring your Word into Queſtion, as guilty of a Breach of Promiſe; for I know by Experience, that the Words of the Deceitful are vain, impotent, toſſed to and fro, and of none Eſteem. But the Words of Men of known Veracity are no leſs Efficacious than the Power of other Men. And when their Intent is to chaſtiſe, their Words are a Puniſhment no leſs ſevere than the Blows of others. And ſuch Men carry their Point as effectually by Promiſes, as other Men by giving Money on the ſpot. I would have you to recollect what you did for us, at the Time when you took us to be your Auxiliaries. I know that you did nothing for us. But the Dependance on your Veracity encouraged ſo many Men to be your Aſſociates in War, and to acquire for you a Kingdom worth not only fifty Talents (which theſe Men believe in juſtice due to them) but many times fifty. Therefore in the firſt Place you ſell your Honour, by which you acquired your Kingdom, for this Trifle; for I would have you call to Mind what a Valuation you put on theſe Parts, which you have now ſubdued, and whereof you are now the Maſter. I am very ſenſible, that you would have effected what you have now brought to paſs, rather than have received many Times this Sum. In my Opinion the Loſs is more ſenſible, and the Diſhonour greater, to be turned out of theſe Poſſeſſions, than never to have been Maſter of them; as to be reduced from a ſtate of Riches to Poverty, is more grievous than not to have

have been formerly Maſter of Riches; and to be reduced from a ſtate of Sovereignty to the Station of a private Man, is more irkſome than never to have been Maſter of the Sovereign Power. Be aſſured then, that thoſe Men who now live in Subjection to you, do not obey you through Love but Neceſſity; and that they would attempt to recover their Liberty, were they not reſtrained by Fear. Do you think then, that they will be moſt effectually kept in Awe and Fear, by obſerving theſe Men ſo affected toward you, as to be willing either to continue in your Service at your Requeſt, or obey your Summons when you ſtand in need of them; and that others alſo, moved by the Reports of your Gratitude to them, are ready to fly to your Aſſiſtance; or by entertaining an Opinion that your former Breaches of Promiſes will deter others from being Auxiliaries to you, and that your paſt Deportment to thoſe Men hath rendered them better affected to themſelves than you? They did not truly ſubmit to you, through the Inferiority of their Numbers, but the Want of able Leaders. You have therefore Reaſon to fear, leaſt they aſſume to be their Leaders, thoſe Men that imagine themſelves to be injured by you, or even the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Power is more to be dreaded, if the Soldiers aſſure them of a more chearful Compliance to be their Auxiliaries, if they ſhall exact their Arrears from you. And the *Lacedæmonians* will condeſcend to theſe Articles as they ſtand in need of theſe Forces. And there is no Queſtion but the *Thracians*, at preſent under your Subjection, will with more Alacrity fight againſt you than for you. For ſhou'd you be victorious, Slavery would be their Lot, but Liberty their Reward if you are vanquiſhed. Beſides, if you look on this Country as

Part

Part of your Dominions: do you not think it will ſuffer fewer Outrages if the Soldiers, being ſatisfied as to their Demands, ſhould peaceably quit it, than if they ſhould continue in it ravaging the Country as the Poſſeſſions of their Enemy, while you bring into the Field againſt them ſuperior Forces, and which muſt neceſſarily be ſubſiſted by the Country? Or will the Payment of the Arrears due to theſe Men be a greater Expence than the Hiring the a ſuperior Force, this Debt alſo lying on your Hands? But *Heraclides* is of Opinion (as he declared to me) that this was a very conſiderable Sum. But you can at this preſent raiſe and pay this Sum with more Eaſe, than you could the tenth Part of it before our Entrance in your Service. For the Ability of the Perſon that pays or receives the Money, and not the Number of Talents, determines a Sum to be great or ſmall. And your Revenues at preſent annually amount to more than your whole Eſtate formerly was worth. Theſe Things I reflected on as your Friend, both that you might appear to have merited thoſe Favours, which the Gods have conferred on you, and that I might prevent my own Ruin with the Army. For be aſſured, that the Affections of the Army are at preſent ſo diſpoſed toward me, that I have neither the Power by their Means to do an ill Office to an Enemy, nor Authority to lead them again to your Aid. And I call you with the conſcious Deities to atteſt, that I have neither received from you any Money on the Account of the Army, nor ſolicited you to convert to my own private Uſe the Arrears due to them, nor even preſſed you to make good your promiſes to myſelf; and I ſwear that I would have refuſed all Favours from you, if the Arrears due to Army were not to have been paid at the ſame Time.

For

For it would have been the greateſt Baſeneſs in me to have been anxious about my own private Intereſt, and to have neglected their Affairs; and this at a Time when I received ſuch Honours from them. *Heraclides* indeed deems all Things Trifles, in compariſon to the Acquiſition of Money by any Shift. But in my Opinion, any Man, much otherwiſe a Prince, cannot make any Acquiſition more glorious and ſplendid, than Virtue, Juſtice and Generoſity. For a Man endowed with theſe Qualifications is enriched not only with many real Friends, but he is enriched likewiſe with others that are covetous of his Friendſhip. And in his Proſperity his Friends bear a ſhare in his Happineſs, and in his Adverſity there is no Dearth of Friends to relieve him out of his Diſtreſs. But if neither my Actions nor Profeſſions could convince and aſſure you of the Sincerity of my Friendſhip for you; yet reflect a little on the Speeches of the Soldiers, for you were preſent, and a Witneſs to the Attempts of thoſe that would fain have wrought my Diſgrace with the Army. For they alledged to the *Lacedæmonians* againſt me, that I put a greater Value on your Favour, than on the Favour of the *Lacedæmonians*; and they alſo accuſed me, that I had your Intereſt more at Heart than their Intereſt, and charged me with the Crime of receiving Preſents from you. Do you think then that an Opinion of a Diſaffection for your Intereſt, or a Knowledge of the greateſt Benevolence for you diſpoſed them to charge me with theſe Things. In my Opinion it is incumbent on every Man to manifeſt a Benevolence for him from whom he receiveth Preſents. Before I had performed any Services for you, by your whole Deportment toward me, by your Behaviou, by your Speeches, by your Entertainments,

ments, and your inceſſant Promiſes (of which you could not even get your Fill,) you manifeſted an extraordinary Kindneſs for me. But ſince your Deſigns are accompliſhed, and I have raiſed you to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur I poſſibly could; my preſent Diſgrace with the Army, gives you a Handle to ſlight me. But I doubt not, Time will be an Admonitor to you, to pay off the Arrears of the Army, and be no longer deaf to the Remonſtrances of thoſe that have laviſhed good Services on you. Whenever therefore you pay the Army, I intreat you to intereſt yourſelf in my Behalf, and to replace me, as you found me, in their Eſteem.

Seuthes, hearing this, vented many Execrations on the Man that had been inſtrumental in detaining the Arrears due to the Army; and they all conjectured that he meaned *Heraclides*, and, ſaid he, I never had the leaſt Intention to defraud the Army, and I will pay them their Arrears. Then *Xenophon* ſaid, Since you are willing to give the Soldiers the Pay due to them, I now intreat you, that the Payment may be made by me, that my Authority with the Army may not be leſs now, than at the Time when I entered into your Service. To this he replyed, I will not be the Occaſion of diminiſhing your Reputation with the Soldiers; and, if you will continue in my Service with 1000 heavy-armed Soldiers, I ſhall reſign the maritime Towns, and fulfil my other Engagements to you. He anſwered, It is not in my Power to comply with your Requeſt; but let us be diſcharged from your Service. *Seuthes* ſaid, I am aſſured, that to continue in my Service will be leſs dangerous to you than to quit it. He replyed, I return you Thanks for your Care of my Safety, but it is not

in my Power to continue with you. And aſſure yourſelf, that the Encreaſe of my Reputation in any Part of the World ſhall redound to your Advantage. Then *Seuthes* ſaid, I am Maſter of a ſmall Sum of Money, only about one Talent; of this I make a Preſent to yourſelf. But I have 600 Head of Cattle, 4000 Sheep, and 120 Slaves, which with the Hoſtages of thoſe that made that unjuſt Attempt againſt your Life I will deliver to you, and you may carry them to the Camp. *Xenophon* with a Smile replyed, But if the Money raiſed by theſe Things ſhould fall ſhort of the Arrears due to the Army, to whom ſhall I tell them, that the Talent pertains. Since then that I cannot return without manifeſt Peril of my Life, is it not the beſt Way (for you were a Witneſs of their Menaces) to keep myſelf clear from their Stones?

On this they remained there that Night, and the next Day *Seuthes* agreeable to his Promiſes delivered the Cattle and the Slaves, and ſent with them Servants to drive the Cattle. In the mean Time a Rumour ſpread through the Army, that *Xenophon* was gone over to *Seuthes*, to ſettle with him, and to receive the Performance of his Promiſes. But the Soldiers no ſooner perceived him returning to the Camp, than they were elated with Joy, and ran out to meet him. And *Xenophon* caſting his Eyes on *Charminus* and *Polynicus*, ſpoke thus, To you the Army is indebted for theſe Things, and into your Hands I deliver them. Do you diſpoſe of them, and diſtribute the Money among the Soldiers. Then they received them from *Xenophon*, and appointed Commiſſioners to take Care of the Sale of them; and their Management was very much cenſured. But *Xenophon* did not in the leaſt interfere, but made open Preparations for his Return home;

home; for the Decree for his Exile had not yet paſſed at *Athens*. But ſome of his Friends in the Army deſired him to defer his Departure till he had delivered the Army unto *Thimbro*.

After this they croſſed over to *Lampſacus*, where *Euclides* of *Phlius*, a Diviner, the Son of *Cleagoras*, who painted the Dreams in the *Lyceum*, meeting *Xenophon*, congratulated him on his ſafe Return, and asked him, what Money he hath. But he ſolemnly proteſted that he had not wherewithal to bear his Expences to *Athens*, unleſs he ſold his Horſe and Furniture. But this did not find Credit with him. The Citizens of *Lampſacus* having ſent Gifts of Hoſpitality to *Xenophon*, he offered to *Apollo* a Sacrifice at which *Euclides* was preſent, and obſerving the Omens attentively, he ſaid, that he was now perſuaded, that he had not any Money, but, added he, I plainly perceive that you have met with Obſtacles, if not from others, from your Self, in the Ways, that offered of acquiring Riches. *Xenophon* confeſſed, that he had ſpoken the Truth. He then added, *Jupiter* the *propitious* is averſe to you. And then he enquired, if he had ſacrificed to that God during the Expedition, as, I ſaid he, have frequently ſacrificed, and offered whole burnt Offerings for your Safety. He replyed, that he had not ſacrificed to the God ſince his Abſence from *Athens*. Then he adviſed him to ſacrifice to the God in the Manner uſual, and aſſured him, that his Circumſtances would change for the better. The next Day *Xenophon* proceeded to *Ophrynium*, and ſacrificed to the Gods whole burnt Offerings of Swine, according to the Rites of his Country, and the Omens appeared favourable. The ſame Day *Biton* and *Euclides* arrived at *Ophrynium*, with Pay for the Soldiers, and preſented Gifts of Hoſpitality

Hoſpitality to *Xenophon*: And hearing him manifeſt a Liking for his Horſe, which he had ſold at *Lampſacus* for 50 Darics, they imagined that he had been conſtrained to part with it through want of Money, and thereupon they releaſed his Horſe, and reſtored it to him gratuitouſly. From hence they marched through *Troas*, and traverſing Mount *Ida*, arrive at *Antandros*. Then coaſting along *Aſia Minor*, they came to the Plain of *Thebes*. After this paſſing by *Atramyttium* and *Certonium*, they enter the Plain of *Caicus* by *Atarne* and reach *Pergamus* a City of *Myſia*. Here *Xenophon* is entertained by *Hellas*, Wife to *Gongylus* of *Eretria*, and Mother to *Gorgyon* and *Gongylus*. By her he is informed that one *Aſidates*, a *Perſian* is quartered in the Plain, and ſhe adds, that if ſhe would ſet out by Night with a Party of 300 Men, he might take both him and his Wife, and his Children, with all his Treaſures, which were very conſiderable. She alſo ſent with him a near Relation, and an intimate Friend, called *Daphnagoras*, to conduct him to his Quarters. Then *Xenophon* offered Victims in the Preſence of theſe Men. And *Ageſias* of *Elis*, a Diviner, aſſiſting at the Sacrifices, declared, that the Omens were very favourable, and that the Man ſhould fall into his Hands. After Supper he ſet out on his March, accompanyed by ſuch Captains as were his moſt intimate Friends, and whoſe Fidelity he had on all Occaſions experienced, thinking it would turn to their Advantage. Some of the Soldiers alſo to the Number of 600 Men, violently intrude themſelves to go on this Expedition. But the Captains, imagining themſelves ſecure of the Booty, rode off from the private Men, that they might not come in for a Share of the Plunder. About Midnight they arri-

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ved at the Quarters of *Aſidates*, and that they might not be diſappointed in their Attempts on him and his Treaſures, they neglected to ſecure the Slaves and Treaſures to a great Value, that were without the Walls of the Fort. But unable to carry by Storm the Place, (for it was large, fortified with high Walls, and defended by a Garriſon of reſolute and valiant Men) they attempted to undermine it. The Wall was eight Bricks in Breadth, and a Paſſage through it being made by Break of Day, a Soldier of the Garriſon ran one of the foremoſt through the Thigh with an Ox-Goad; and afterwards with their Arrows they rendered it dangerous for any one to approach near the Fort. The Garriſon alſo by their Outcries and Fires, as Signals of Diſtreſs, call to their Aſſiſtance *Itabelius*; who marches to relieve them with the Forces under his Command, *viz.* the Heavy-armed Troops in Garriſon at *Comania*, eighty *Hyrcanian* Horſe, mercenary Troops of the King, and Targeteers to the Number of Eight hundred. Some Horſe likewiſe from *Parthenium*, *Apollonia*, and other neighbouring Towns arrive to their Aſſiſtance. It was now high Time to conſider in what Manner to make their Retreat, and, in Order thereunto, they formed themſelves into a hollow Square, placing therein all their Cattle, Sheep, and Slaves; not ſo much with an Intent to preſerve them, as apprehending, that their Retreat might be deemed a Flight, if they quitted their Plunder, and that the Courage of the Enemy might be raiſed thereby, and their own Men quite diſpirited. They therefore made their Retreat skirmiſhing with the Enemy, ſeemingly in Defence of their Prey. *Gongylus*, perceiving the Enemy preſſing hard on the *Gracians*, who were greatly inferior in Number, marches out, notwithſtanding the Perſuaſions of his Mother

Mother to the contrary, with his own Troops to bear a Share in the Action. *Procles* alſo a Deſcendant from *Demaratus*, marched out from *Abiſarne* and *Teuthrania* to the Relief of the *Græcians*. The Forces under *Xenophon* being ſore galled by the Slings and Darts of the Enemy, alter the Order of their Battle, and throw themſelve into a Ring, that their Shields might be on every ſide a Defence againſt the Darts of the Enemy, and thus with great Difficulty near half of their Men being wounded, among which Number was *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, one of the Captains, who ſignalized himſelf in fighting bravely with the Enemy during this whole Action they paſs the *Caicus*, and preſerve above 200 Slaves, and a competent Number of Sheep for their Sacrifices. The next Day *Xenophon* Sacrifices again, and marches with the whole Army from *Myſia*, as far as poſſibly he could in one Night, leſt his Neighbourhood might create a Jealouſy in the Enemy, and that by theſe Means they might become more careleſs. *Aſidates*, on Advice that *Xenophon* had ſacrificed for another Expedition againſt him, and was on his March with the whole Army, takes up his Quarters in the Villages about *Parthenium*. Here *Xenophon* with his Troops happens on him, and takes him, and his Wife, and his Children, Priſoners, with his Horſes and all his Treaſure. And thus the former Sacrifices anſwered; and having effected this they return to *Pergamus*. And from this Time *Xenophon* had no Reaſon to complain of the God. For both the *Lacedæmonians*, the Captains, and other Generals joined in a Requeſt to him to accept a Share extraordinary out of the Horſes, Oxen, and other Parts of the Booty; ſo that he was now in a Capacity of being ſerviceable to his

his Friends. After this *Thimbro* came and received from him the Troops, and in Conjunction with the other Forces of *Greece*, he waged War againſt *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*.

Of the Countries under the King, that (*o*) We touched on in this Expedition, theſe were the Governours. Of *Lydia Artimas* of *Phrygia Artacamas*; of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia Mithridates*; of *Cilicia* (*p*) *Syenneſis*; of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia Dernes*; of *Syria* and *Aſſyria Beleſis*; of *Babylon Roparas*; of *Media Arbacas*; of the *Phaſians*, and weſtern *Armenians Tiribazus*; (But the *Conduchans*, and the *Chalybes*, and the *Chaldæans*, and the *Macrones*, and the *Colchans*, and the *Moſynecians*, and the *Coitans*, and the *Tibarenians* were independant Nations). (*p*) Of *Paphlagonia Corylas*; of the *Bythinians Pharnabazus*; and of the *Europæan Thracians Seuthes*. The Number of their Encampments in their Aſcent and Deſcent were 215, the Number of Paraſangs that they marched (*q*) 1150, of Furlongs 34255. The Time taken up

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(*o*) This is another Proof that *Themiſtogenes* was not the Author of this Relation. For here the Writer by uſing the firſt Perſon expreſſly declares, that he was among the Number of the *Gracians*; and had *Themiſtogenes* been the Author of this Hiſtory, it is very improbable but he would have taken ſome Occaſion to have mentioned himſelf.

(*pp*) The Kings of *Cilicia* and *Paphlagonia* were Tributaries to the *Perſians*, but were not nominated to be Kings, as the Satraps of other Provinces, by the Emperor of *Perſia* And this Privilege they enjoyed, becauſe their Anceſtors had deſerted the *Babylonians*, and voluntarily joined with the firſt *Cyrus*.

(*q*) This ſhould be reckoned to *Cotyora* only, for the Number of the Paraſangs was greater if we computeth the

up in their Aſcent and Deſcent, one Year three Months.

ſeveral Encampments 'till the Delivery of the Army to *Thiſabrio*. However, there ſeems to be ſome Error in the Computation of the Paraſangs and Furlongs, which I leave to the Criticks to reconcile.

FINIS.